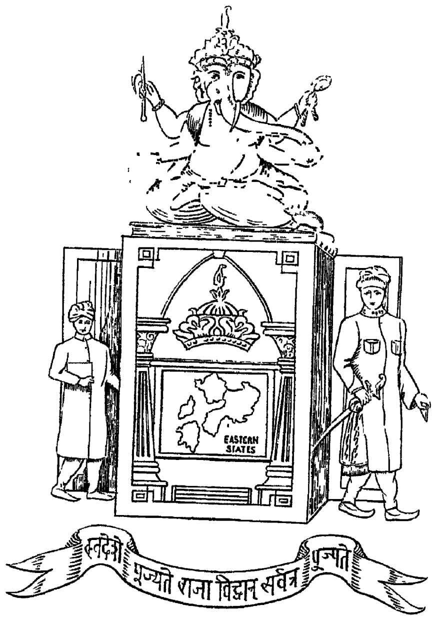
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# PAST PRESENT AND FUTURE

*Being an account of and plan for*

*The Rajkumar College, Raipur, C.P.*

*1882-1970*

BY

T. L. H. SMITH-PEARSE, M.A., C.I.E., I.E.S.

PRINCIPAL 1931-1946

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# PREFACE

This book is offered at this particular time to those interested in the College for two reasons. The College was opened at Raipur in November 1894, so thatt it has just passed, though owing to the war not celebrated, its Golden Jubilee. That is an occasion in the life of an institution at which it seems appropriate to endeavour to record and comment on the events of the past. Secondly, I am about to retire; and so, if I myself am to write of the College, I must do so now. Not only have I served the College for twenty-five years, but during my first ten years I worked under Mr. Stow, who often talked of his nine years before I came. I have also met a few people who knew Mr. Oswell and the College during the closing years of his Principalship. I do not know nearly enough of the times before 1921 to write good history; but I seem to be better qualified than any one else. Therefore, as the time has come for a history to be written, I have felt thatt it is my duty to write it. It has not only been a duty, but also a pleasure. I have received so much kindness and happiness at Raipur from the hands of the College thatt I have written this book in the spirit of a man glad to render a small service to a very generous benefactor.

May it prove of interest to many and give pain to none! Yet I frankly confess thatt to avoid hurting feelings has proved the hardest task of the book. I have had to mention many people still living; many controversial topics on which opinions still differ; many changes (I shall not call them reforms) not yet generally accepted as desirable; above all and on many pages, I have had to call attention to a standard of values in the College which is not that of many boys' homes. It is impossible to write of such living and delicate topics and please everybody; very hard indeed not to hurt somebody's feelings. I devoutly hope thatt I have not done so. In my defence I can say only thatt I have written honestly, and thatt I have tried, even where I could not approve, to explain the opposite point of view. To have omitted all comment on living people's actions and the controversies in which they and I have been involved would have resulted in an unreadable book; one even duller than an Annual Report, because much longer; a book as flat as yesterday's soda water. I had not written much, before I realized thatt either I must write nothing or I must comment and criticize frankly and as objectively as I could; even as, I hope, others will one day comment on and criticize my own regime.

The first title of this book was 'A History of the Rajkumar College, Raipur'. Again, I had written very little before I realized

thatt, whatever else I could write, I could not write a history. The new title 'Past, Present and Future' indicates thatt the book covers the principalships of Mr. Oswell, Mr. Stow and myself; and takes a look into the future of the College as well. Mr. Oswell's period is suitable for orthodox historical treatment, but the material available to work on has proved far too meagre. There are still living only a very few people who had some personal knowledge of the College in those days; and either very few records and files were then kept, or they have been long ago destroyed. Of Mr. Stow's period I know a good deal from personal experience, and there was much more written material available until, most unfortunately, his Annual Reports 1912–23 were destroyed in the Bombay explosion of 1944 before they had been thoroughly studied. But his period is still too recent for a really historical treatment, even if all the records of it were complete; and I myself am disqualified to write of it as a historian, because I was too much involved personally in the controversies of his time. I have not been able to write of it otherwise than from the point of view of one of the actors. Of my own period I am, of course, completely incapable of writing a history in the proper sense of that word. I have tried to record events and state my case for acting as I did, leaving it to my successors to show how much better I might have acted. They will write a very dull revised version if they do not.

As, for these reasons, my book does not pretend to be a history, I felt thatt I could dare to do what no historian would dream of doing and add an epilogue. The last chapter is an attempt to foresee how the College may develop during the next twenty-five years; and need be read only by those fond of dreams and fairy stories and those interested in seeing how limited was my prophetic vision. It has been added, however, because it contains many thoughts at present in my mind, in the hope thatt they may prove interesting and useful not only to the Governing Body and my successor but to others outside the College circle, who are thinking of educational problems. When a Principal hands over his charge, it is perhaps desirable thatt he should hand it over not only as it stands but also as he would like it to become.

Because much of the book is my personal account of, and views upon, the main events and problems of the College, I have referred to myself throughout in the first person. I have also, to avoid tedium, used a number of abbreviations. The Society means the Rajkumar College Society, Raipur; the Council, its General Council; the Committee, its Managing or Working Committee. The Diploma, Cambridge, and Matriculation examinations, are shorter phrases used to refer to the Old Chiefs' Colleges' Diploma Examination, the University of

Cambridge School Certificate and Junior Certificate Examinations, and any other examination, success in which admits a candidate to the first year of a University course.

The eight gentlemen whose portraits are reproduced in the book are those who have rendered outstanding service to the College during its first half century. Sir Andrew Fraser was largely instrumental in founding the College and watched solicitously over its first decade. Raja Bahadur Jawahir Singh, C.I.E., late Ruler of Sarangarh State, was the first Old Boy to take a keen interest in the College and for over twenty years worked untiringly on the Council and Committee. Raja Ramanuj Pratap Singh Deo, C.S.I., Ruler of Korea State, who was its first successful Diploma candidate and first graduate, has served both as the Chairman of the Committee and President of the Council, and has sent two brothers and four sons to the College. The late Mahant Sarveshwar Das was very young at the time when his State gave a very shaky College five lakhs of rupees and a new lease of life; but the gift was made on his behalf, and he ranks as the greatest financial benefactor that the College has yet had. The second greatest is the late Maharaja Purna Chandra Bhanj Deo, Ruler of Mayurbhanj State, who donated two lakhs of rupees at another difficult time, 1923. The third greatest is Maharaja Ramanuj Saran Singh Deo, C.B.E., Ruler of Surguja State, who up to the present time has given nearly 1¼ lakhs of rupees and whose generosity does not seem even yet to be exhausted; and who has now served on the Governing Body for 25 years and has sent one son and four grandsons to the College. Last but not least, are included the portraits of Mr. Oswell, Principal 1894–1910, and Mr. Stow, Principal 1912–31.

I am indebted to Mrs. Stow for the photograph of the Principal's old house facing the main building; and to Mr. Lakshmi Narayan Agrawal, M.A. for his interesting notes on the Rajkumar School at Jubbulpore.

I should like also to convey my grateful thanks to the late Raja Bahadur of Sarangarh State for reading the typescript relating to the pre-1912 period and for valuable criticisms of the first draft of that chapter; and to Naresh Chandra Singh, the present Ruler of Sarangarh State, and to Bhanu Pratap Deo, Maharajadhiraj of Kanker State, for their reminiscences of the College as they knew it when they were boys.

This book is being published by the College and I have no financial interest in it. The profits, if any, will go to the College funds. The opinions expressed in it are, however, mine alone; and no one else has to take any responsibility for them. I have allowed myself one idiosyncrasy over spelling. Wherever the word usually spelt 'that' is used

as a conjunction, I have spelt it 'thatt' to distinguish it from 'that', the pronoun or adjective. I hope thatt the innovation will annoy no reader, and help some to find their way more easily through some long sentences.

This book is appearing at a time when plans are being made to tackle the gigantic task of educating India's illiterate millions. The Sargent Report has stated thatt it will take forty years at least to introduce a system of national education worthy of the name, and a good many people are denying the need for so long a period.

They might learn some hard but valuable educational truths from these pages. The boys of the College have had certain advantages which have speeded up their education as a class; for instance, much better paid teachers and much more individual attention than the school children of India will get, even when the Sargent scheme is in full working order. On the other hand, the College boys have had their education retarded by influences which do not affect the children of poorer parents, chief among which I class the poisonous doctrine thatt it is unnecessary for a wealthy man's son to earn his own living. If the advantages are set off against the disadvantages, it will be roughly true to say thatt the problems that the College has had to tackle were, in microcosm, some of those awaiting the administrators of the Sargent scheme; and thatt the truths that stand out from these pages are true everywhere in all circumstances.

The first is thatt education is a very slow process—especially at the beginning, and thatt there are no short-cuts. A boy who is the first of his family to go to school often appears to be worse for the experience. However good the school and its staff may be, the first generation finds it much easier to learn the vices than the virtues of educated society. The second generation is little better. There is precious little to show even after twenty-five years for the thought, money, and labour that have been expended. Foundations are mostly underground. It may well be thatt, twenty years or so after India's system of national education has been initiated, a strong minority will raise an outcry against the insensate expenditure of vast sums on education that can plausibly be shown to have done little good; and will urge thatt no more good money should be thrown after bad. If that outcry arises, perhaps some who have read this book may remember the situations in which the College found itself in 1912 and 1923; and will not lose faith but will hold on, till the third and fourth generations start to reap the national harvest.

The main reason for the slowness with which education at first bears fruit is the lack of co-operation between home and school. My

second truth is thatt the education of a nation is the education of its women. So long as the mothers are uneducated or only partially or inappropriately educated, even the best of schools finds itself engaged in a tug of war against a force fully its equal. They fear the school and fear thatt its influence will weaken their own over their sons, and from their point of view they are right to fear. They pull one way and the school another, and the unfortunate bone of contention, the boys, comes close to breaking point. The colossal handicap of the College during its first half century has been its failure to encourage the education of Rajkumaris. I think thatt it has so far overcome this handicap (but only in the last decade) thatt very few mothers of boys in the College now actually fear its influence. This may even be criticized as an under-statement, and it may be truer to say thatt a majority of mothers now are glad to send their sons to it. But, be that as it may, the College and many homes that it serves are still far from talking with one voice. One notable example is over careers. While the College urges its Old Boys to seek independent useful careers for themselves, most homes of Rajkumars still actively discourage such plans. This, in its small way, amounts to saying thatt the success of the Sargent or any other scheme of national education will depend on more attention being paid and money devoted, to begin with, to the education of women and girls than to that of men and boys. It will be a revolutionary idea for India to swallow.

The third truth is thatt there is no such thing in the world as education both good and cheap. Not all expensive education is good; but unless it is fairly expensive it cannot be good; and there is no more futile waste of public money than the financing of schools run on the cheap. Nearly three-fourths of the cost of a school is the cost of its staff, and the staff makes a school or breaks it. In theory, most people agree thatt a schoolmaster is a very important member of society, one who can exert a big influence for good and bad. Nor are there many idealists who sincerely believe thatt sufficient missionaries can be found to staff the schools of a nation and to render first-class service in return for fifth-class salaries. Yet so queer is our sense of values thatt, in practice, a good cook in India asks and easily gets more pay than a primary-school teacher; and a competent steno-typist would not look at the salary that attracts many high-school graduate-teachers. It is a common jibe thatt Indian teachers are the scrap-material of the other professions, and it is one that has a sting because it contains some truth. Those who have read the Sargent Report have been staggered to learn its cost. It is still more staggering to reflect on how much more must be added to that cost in order to attract the best type of Indian man and woman to take up teaching.

Its staff makes or breaks a school. That is the hard inescapable truth which the pages of this book testify to. There are proposals now being made thatt no young man and woman shall be allowed to matriculate or graduate in India until he or she has taught in a school for a year. This regulation, it is claimed, will overcome the difficulty of staffing the thousands of new schools that India will require. I am sure of one thing when I reflect on these proposals; thatt the young men and women will be all the better for the experience. But what of the schools they serve in and the pupils they teach? There are no short-cuts in education; and its staff makes—or breaks—a school. Nothing has been more to the credit of the supporters of the College than their recognition thatt good education costs money, and their wisdom and faith, shown on more than one occasion in the last ten or twelve years, inspiring them to improve the conditions of service of the College staff *before*, not after, the finances of the College could, from the orthodox financial point of view, afford the extra expenditure involved. Vast schemes of planning and reconstruction are now being hatched in India. They are all valuable—indeed essential—if India is to develop into a prosperous nation. Inevitably there will be keen competition and controversy as to the order in which these schemes are to be taken up. I hope thatt it will not be overlooked thatt the success of them all depends on educated producers and consumers; thatt the 'pathetic contentment' of the uneducated masses is the greatest of all bars to Indian progress; thatt their education will be a slow expensive business that must start first of all; and thatt it is a business needing the services of the pick of the nation.

Students of Indian sociology also may possibly find interest in this book as a record of the impact of modern education on a conservative class of people with very strong traditions of their own; and for the light that it throws on the question whether the caste and purdah systems will long survive among the upper classes in India. The changes that have occurred in the way of living of boys of the College during the last decade seem to show thatt, slow though its initial progress may be, education when once well under way gathers very considerable force and momentum.

Old Upton
Bude
Cornwall
England.

T. L. H. SMITH-PEARSE.
*October 1947.*

CHAPTER ONE

# THE DISTANT PAST: 1882–1912

## Introduction

The story of the early growth of the College has not been easy to compile and is not nearly as complete and accurate as I should like it to be. Up to 1912 particularly the past is obscure. There are few records of that period in the College office; there are few Old Boys living who were pupils before that year; the Rev. G. D. Oswell, Principal of the College, 1894–1909, died in 1910; and the management throughout that period was almost entirely in the hands of C.P. officials who have long since retired. It has been said to me thatt Mr. Oswell wrote a history of the College as he knew it, but I have failed to discover a copy. It would be for my purpose a find of the greatest value. In writing of the period 1894–1912, therefore, I have had to rely mainly on the minute books of the Board of Visitors and the Governing Body of the College and on files in the office of the Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division. For the period 1882–92 I have had to be content merely with a study of files in the office of the Commissioner, Jubbulpore Division. Throughout the earlier period I have allowed myself to include some matter which is only hearsay, when I have thought thatt it probably contains a modicum of truth as well as of interest.

I must not conclude this introduction without thanking the Commissioners of the Chhattisgarh and Jubbulpore Divisions for the loan of many of their old files.

## The Rajkumar School, Jubbulpore. 1882–92.

On January 1st 1882, a hostel, called the Rajkumar School, was opened by the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces and Berar, at Jubbulpore, which was intended to accommodate the sons and relations of the Chiefs of the Chhattisgarh Division and the Zamindars of the Central Provinces. In those days it should be remembered thatt the Chhattisgarh Division extended to Sambalpur and included such States as Bamra, Kalahandi, Sonepur and Patna. In view of the fact thatt the question whether the College should admit only kumars or should be open also to the sons of well-to-do gentlemen of other classes was a very live one as recently as 1937, it is interesting to discover thatt it was hotly debated in 1882 also. Both points of view had their champions

and the victory of the exclusionists was secured only by the casting vote of the Chief Commissioner.

The same controversy arose in 1894 when the present College opened at Raipur. The chief promoter of its foundation, the late Sir Andrew Fraser, then wrote to his Chief Commissioner: 'I do not think that such a College or school as is proposed should be limited exclusively to Chiefs and Zamindars. I think that any wealthy gentleman, who desires to bring his son under the influence of a good European teacher and is willing to pay for this, should be allowed to send him. . . .'

Later on, when Chief Commissioner, he advocated in 1901, 'the expansion of the College and its opening out to other classes than those for whom it is now practically reserved.' He recommended thatt 'the sons of native gentlemen of position should be admitted. The College might become the public school of the Province. The ideal is not an impossible one.'

Thatt Sir Andrew Fraser should have envisaged a possible development of the College that few others thought of for thirty years after his time but now is an accomplished fact, is characteristic of much of his work in Chhattisgarh. Some of the Chhattisgarh States possess notes written by him which saw more than thirty years ahead.

The hostel at Jubbulpore had been a Lac Factory known as Lackhana, and was converted and equipped entirely by the C.P. Government for its new purpose. No donations were invited from the class which the new hostel was intended to serve. The Superintendent was a Mr. Young who was also Headmaster of a High School in Jubbulpore. The kumars lived with Mr. Young in the hostel and attended classes in his High School. He appears to have had only one master, Mr. Dalchand, to assist him in his hostel duties. Fees varied from Rs. 25 to Rs. 50 per month and in addition every boy paid for his own servants, food, and clothing. The normal routine at that time is stated to have been:

| | |
|---|---|
| Rise at Sunrise | |
| Walking or Riding | |
| Preparation ... ... | 7.30 – 8.30 a.m. |
| Classes ... ... | 11.00 – 3.00 p.m. |
| Preparation ... ... | 4.00 – 5.30 p.m. |
| Evening Exercises | |
| Bed ... ... | 10.0 p.m. |

No organized games were played. Exercise consisted mainly of riding, walking, or driving in a carriage. Nearly all the first pupils were sent by official guardians. The following Minor Chiefs were among the first to join the hostel:

Raja Chitrabhan Singh of Sakti.
Raja Bhawani Pratap Singh of Sarangarh.
Raja Ram Chandra Deo of Patna.
Raja Raghu Keshari Deo of Kalahandi.
Raja Kewal Narain Singh of Khairagarh.

By 1884 there were 18 boys, six from Chhattisgarh States, six from the Jubbulpore Division, three from the Nagpur Division, two from Chhattisgarh and one from Hoshangabad. It seems thatt about this number of boys was maintained up to 1892. The management was largely in the hands of the Commissioner, Jubbulpore Division, assisted by an official then called the Inspector-General of Schools, Central Provinces.

This first experiment was not a success. Complaints were from the beginning made by the management and Mr. Young against the boys. By 1892 there were also several complaints made by the C.P. Government and the guardians of the boys against the management.

The complaints against the boys were not peculiar to that time. Almost up to the present day they can be found repeated again and again in the records of the Committee, in Inspection Reports, and by Principals. The Principal of 1930 would have found no difficulty in seconding most of the complaints of the Superintendent of 1886. His chief ones were thatt the boys returned to school from the vacations very unpunctually, and thatt he was always being asked for leave in term-time. The College record for unpunctuality, however, was set up as recently as 1935, when three brothers returned to the College so late one term thatt they arrived on the day when the next vacation was commencing. That record ought to stand for all time! Secondly, the boys were surrounded by an excessive number of unreliable servants, not only cooks and personal servants, but armed guards, chaukidars, coachmen, chaprasis, and syces as well. A dozen servants were a very moderate retinue at Jubbulpore. Another complaint concerned the classroom work of the boys. Many of them were intellectually retarded, they had had no previous education at home and evinced not the slightest desire to work hard. The teachers in Mr. Young's school were too frightened of them to dare to force them to work. They concentrated on flattering and indulging the kumars in their classrooms and overlooking their faults, with the result thatt very few of them learnt anything.

These difficulties were aggravated because no rule was enforced concerning the age at which the boys were to be admitted. Some came at ten years of age but more did not come till they were 15 or 16. The

difficulty of giving some education of permanent value was increased a hundred times when a pupil did not join till he was 15 or 16.

On the other hand, it had become clear by 1892 that the management and organization of the Rajkumar School were themselves faulty in several respects.

Jubbulpore was a very inconvenient location for the Chhattisgarh States, especially in those days when communications were much more primitive than now. The Commissioner, Jubbulpore Division, was out of touch with the parents of most of the boys in the hostel and did not give enough personal supervision; to which charge he replied thatt he was too busy to do more than he did. Mr. Young had his High School and other public work to attend to and had not enough time to devote to the boys in the hostel. There is no opinion of the parents of that time on record about the hostel and the system of instruction; but, reading between the lines, I guess thatt the school had little or no parental support and thatt no Chief or Zamindar sent his son to Jubbulpore if he could avoid doing so.

In 1892 the Chief Commissioner, C.P. was describing the management as unsound, and the scheme as a failure. The hostel would probably have been closed shortly, anyhow; but the death-blow was what a file discreetly calls 'a recent scandal of the greatest gravity.' Much to the disappointment of gossip-lovers, all the papers in that file for a period of 18 months after the date of the paper containing these exciting words have been destroyed. It is left for hearsay to tell what that scandal was, which put an end to the first Rajkumar School in the centre of India. As it happened over fifty years ago, perhaps it may be mentioned without offence; but as the details still rest only on hearsay, I have no right to mention those that I have heard. Suffice it then to say thatt all accounts agree thatt one of the kumars in the hostel and the daughter of the Superintendent made an attempt to get married secretly. The parents of the boy were much disturbed, and the position of Mr. Young became most uncomfortable. He left Jubbulpore soon after with his daughter and the hostel closed for good.

The only personal reminiscences thatt I have been able to secure, which refer to the Rajkumar School, are those very kindly sent to me by Mr. Lakshmi Narayan Agarwal, M.A., who was a student at Jubbulpore from 1886 to 1893. He has written as follows:

'The Rajkumar School, having been started in 1882, had no habitation (i.e. classrooms) of its own, and so it was located in the south-western wing of the Jubbulpore College. The college building also was used for

locating the High School classes; and thus in the College building were located the Rajkumar School, the High School, and the College.

Naturally, the boys of the High School and College, during pre-school hours and during recess times, mixed with each other and also with the Rajkumars, on which there was no kind of restriction.

The students of the Rajkumar School were mostly Feudatory Chiefs of the Central Provinces and their relatives, Zamindars of the C.P. (mostly from Chhattisgarh), and wards of the Court of Wards (generally big malguzars).

I was at the High School and College from June 1886 to March 1893, and during this period I was in touch with the Rajkumars of those days.

Usually we used to meet before the school hours and spend some time in gossip and pan-chewing. A few smoked. Prominent amongst the Rajkumars of my time were: 1. Raja Raghu Keshari Deo of Kalahandi. 2. Maharaja Ram Chandra Deo of Patna (Bolangir). 3. The Raja of Sarangarh. 4. Mahant Balram Das of Raj-Nandgaon. 5. Raja Chhakra Shah, Zamindar of Bindra-Nawagarh. 6. Nawab Niazuddin Khan, Zamindar of Khujji. 7. Pandit Bisan Dutt Sukul of Sehora (ward of Court of Wards).

Raja Raghu Keshari Deo loved wrestling, and whenever possible he used to attend wrestling matches; otherwise, he had no apparent hobbies. Amongst the Rajkumars he was a fearless boy and a decent rider. He was respected by the students of the school and College. He was sweet tempered and seldom given to loose talk. Once there was a wrestling match at Lackhana, where the Rajkumars resided. During the progress of the match, an Anglo-Indian lad made some disparaging remarks against the combatants, thereby implying that they did not know the rules of wrestling. On this Raja Raghu Keshari Deo volunteered to wrestle with him if he cared to do so. The offer was accepted and they both wrestled with the result that Raja Raghu Keshari Deo won the match. After this, Raja Raghu Keshari Deo became calm, as if nothing had happened. He was courteous to all the boys who never felt that they were talking to a Feudatory Chief.

Maharaja Ram Chandra Deo of Patna (Bolangir) was a powerfully built, tall, young man with hot Rajput blood in him. He was a fearless rider and seldom rode his horse at a trot. Once there was an accident, but he would not give up his fierce riding. With the boys of the school and College he was very popular, as he would not assert himself or his position. He used to take part in cricket matches, which were few and far between owing to want of funds. On the day that Patna joined the match, he would wield the bat with such force that he would break at least one during his play, and this the club could ill afford! The Rajkumars never joined other games of the College boys as they lived over three miles from the College and its boarding house.

Chhakra Shah, Zamindar of Binda-Nawagarh had curly hair like that of the Siddis, and it caused merriment amongst the boys.

The Rajkumars liked the Headmaster, the late Mr. Dalchand, who worked later at Raipur Rajkumar College also.

One thing more I can say that the Rajkumars loved their Principal, the late Mr. W. W. Young, who took parental interest in them and the college students.

The Rajkumars had plain living and did not indulge in luxuries. Whenever the students of the College happened to go to the boarding house of the Rajkumars, they were well treated. Pandit Bisan Dutt Shukul passed his matriculation from this school and graduated from Lucknow.

The Raja of Kalahandi was rather friendly with Sheo Dayal Singh, a student of the High School and an athlete. Sheo Dayal Singh, after the death under tragic circumstances of the Raja of Kalahandi, lived for some time with his Rani and minor Raja.

The Raja of Sarangarh was quiet and given to few words. The Zamindar of Khujji was a talkative man and had many acquaintances and friends. He settled at Nagpur and continued his college acquaintanceship with many. Mahant Balram Das, Feudatory Chief of Nandgaon, used to wear a gold embroidered cap, and this caused laughter amongst the students.'

**The Rajkumar College, Raipur.** 1894–1912

The failure of the Rajkumar School, Jubbulpore, did not decide the C.P. Government to cease further efforts to educate the future rulers of the Chhattisgarh States and the leading Zamindars of the Province. But the problem how and where to educate them remained. It was obviously highly desirable thatt the boys of these families should be able to obtain an education suited to their position. The fact thatt the first attempt had been a failure did not connote thatt another attempt must fail also. The Jubbulpore experiment, if it had done nothing else, had shown what the difficulties were, what errors the next attempt must avoid and what improvements must be introduced. It was decided to try again, this time at Raipur for several reasons.

The then Commissioner of the Chhattisgarh Division was a very able man, extremely interested in the Chhattisgarh States which were at that time in his direct charge. His name was Mr. Andrew Fraser, who later was knighted and became, first of all, Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces and then Lieut.-Governor of Bengal. Not only must he be considered the real founder of the College at Raipur but one of its keenest supporters, wherever he was stationed, during the first twelve critical years of its life. Without his initial efforts it would never have opened; without his later ones it would probably have closed down. From Bengal, in days when that Province included Bihar and Orissa, he sent to the College both boys and money, thus creating the strong connection between the Orissa States and the College which has never since been broken.

There were, however, two other reasons why Raipur was chosen to be the location of the new school. One of the great objections to

Jubbulpore had been the inconvenient communcations between it and the Chhattisgarh States. The position of Raipur was far more suitable. Secondly, there were buildings there in 1893 of which the C.P. Government was anxious to dispose. The fact, however, thatt the Local Government by opening a kumars' school at Raipur was killing two birds with one stone, does not imply thatt they did not choose the best site for it. In 1893 the Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division, lived in a house, since demolished, on the site of the present Principal's house. What is now the central block of the Main Building, containing library, main hall, classrooms and offices, was then the Commissioner's court house and office. Facing his court house and some 100 yards to the north was a newly built circuit house. But the other Government offices of Raipur, and especially the district court and the Deputy Commissioner's office, were two and a half miles away from the Commissioner on the other side of Raipur city.

In those days, before motorcars came into use, this distance between the two chief courts of Raipur proved a great inconvenience to everyone who had business in them. Nothing had prevented the migration of the Commissioner and his office some years prior to 1893 from the west to the east of Raipur city but the unsolved problem of how to make use of the three large Government buildings which the move would leave empty. It was Mr. Fraser, as he was then, who conceived the idea of raising money to buy them from Government for the use of a new Rajkumar College. His scheme was accepted and he set to work.

There are some differences in the lists of the donations which he managed to raise, but the following figures rest on the best authority —his own. He collected Rs. 1,99,000 in all, which must have been a very remarkable achievement in those days when wealth was scarce, education less valued, and the memory of the Jubbulpore failure fresh in the minds of the class to which he appealed. This sum was made up as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Chhattisgarh States ... ... ... ... | Rs. 93,500 |
| Zamindars ... ... ... ... | 49,000 |
| Other Subscriptions ... ... ... | 57,500 |

I have not been able to find out who paid these 'other subscriptions', but my guess is thatt the word 'Zamindars' refers only to the Zamindars of Chhattisgarh and thatt 'other subscriptions' were given by benefactors, probably mostly Zamindars, living outside Chhattisgarh. The Local Government unfortunately did not make any grant before 1904. From that year to 1913 the College received annual grants from Government but only between 1912 and 1923 were they at all large in amount. A marked

feature of the College history has been the financial generosity of Rulers and Zamindars, which has been so great thatt prior to 1904 and since 1923 the College has been practically self-supporting.

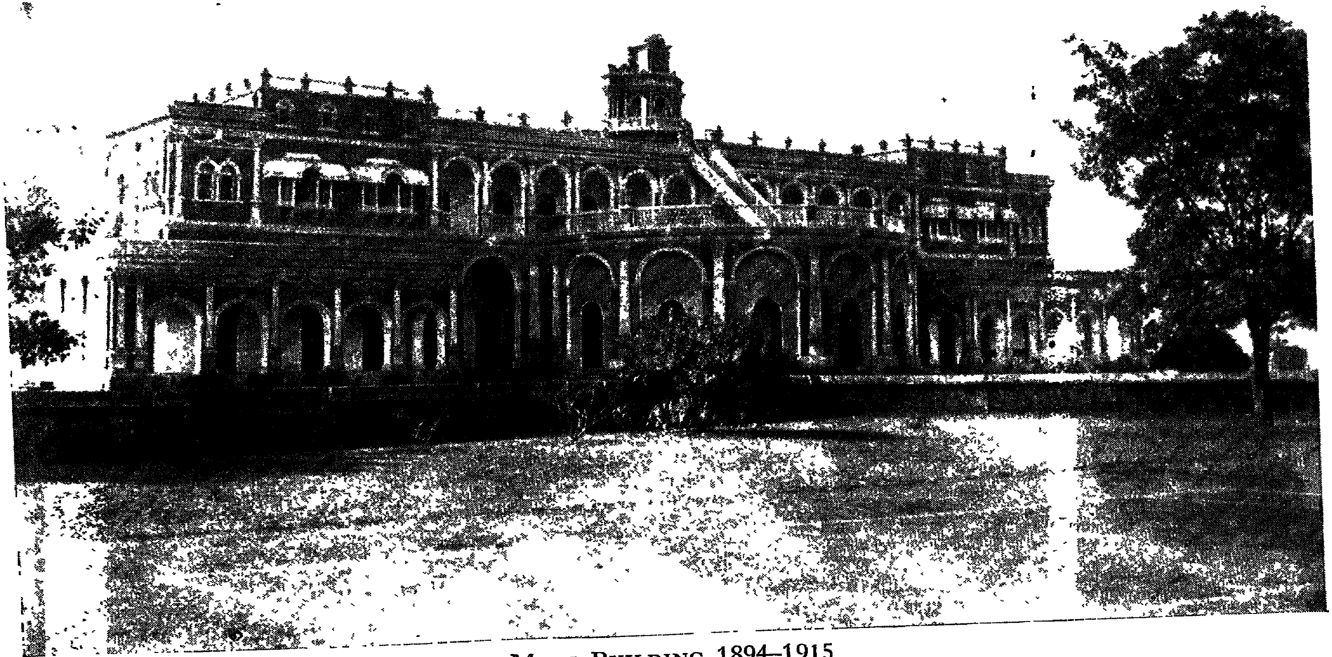
The money which Mr. Fraser raised was spent as follows. One lakh of rupees was invested as an endowment fund, the Commissioner's court was brought for Rs. 25,000, the Commissioner's house for Rs. 15,000 and, a few years later, the circuit house for Rs. 17,000. Rs. 36,500 were spent in converting the court house into a school and in building various blocks of quarters adjacent to it. Rs. 5,000 remained as cash in hand.

The College was opened on November 15th, 1894 by Sir John Woodburn, Chief Commissioner, C.P. I propose to commence its story with an account of the period 1894–1912 under various headings, the first of which will be buildings and grounds.

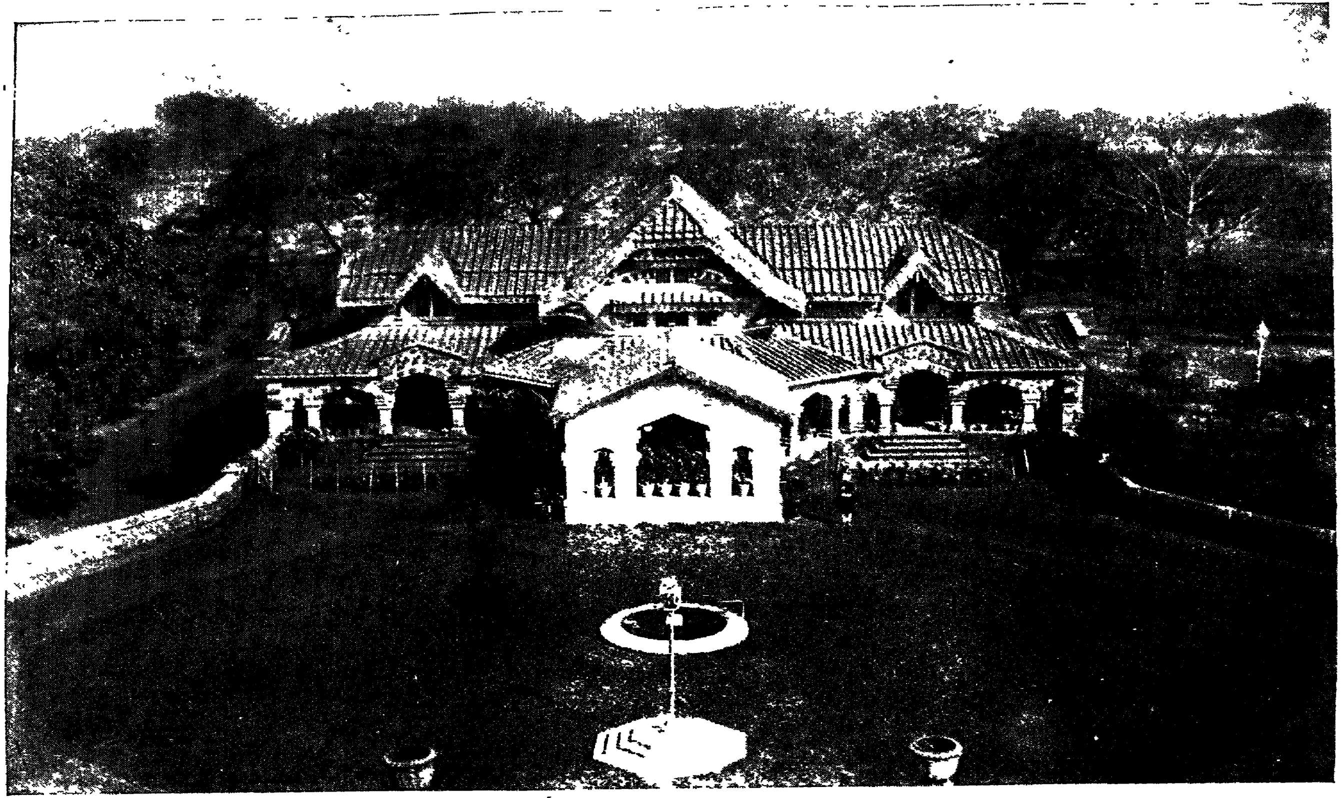
**Buildings and Grounds.**

During this period the buildings and grounds presented a very different appearance from that of today. The area of the compound was about sixty acres, roughly half the area which is fenced in today. Before 1912 it was fenced in only in part and was much less private. It is described by one critic as a main grazing ground for the cattle of Raipur, and the townsfolk and neighbouring villagers apparently wandered across it wherever they liked. It is still easy to see thatt a road bordered by trees once ran straight from the east to the west gate of the grounds. Up to 1912 that road marked the northern boundary. The College lake, all the football grounds, the 1st division hockey ground and the big white house now occupied by two masters did not then belong to the College at all. The present north-western corner of the grounds was occupied by rice fields dotted with mango trees. The site now occupied by the Principal's house and the land for about 100 yards surrounding it on all sides had been bought by the College in 1894 but were little used before 1912. From 1894 to 1898 the Principal lived in a thatched house which stood on this site, but from 1899 to 1911 the house was used as the official residence of the Political Agent, Chhattisgarh States, for which he paid to the College a rent of Rs. 100 per month. Mr. Womack, Sir Frank Sly and Mr. Blakesley are three Political Agents who lived there, not without grumbling on their part; for the house seems to have been a bad one and was three miles distant from their office.

The eastern boundary of the compound probably ran, from a point on the east-gate road north of the present Guest house, due south till it joined the southern boundary which seems to have followed much



Main Building 1894–1915



Principal's House up to 1916

the same line then as today. At the spot near the sports ground where the eastgate approach road bends towards the south away from the line of the old avenue, was a wooden entrance gate and a small porter's lodge. The ground, on which now stand the Guest house and five masters' houses to the east of it, was therefore outside the grounds.

In the centre of the grounds stood the old Commissioner's court which had been converted in 1894 into classrooms and offices downstairs and into bedrooms upstairs. A picture of this building as it was then, hangs in the Main Hall today and is reproduced in this book. Each bedroom upstairs was divided by wooden partitions into a number of single-bed cubicles and there seem to have been 30 of these at first and room for some ten more. Though the boys slept there, they did not dress, study, bathe, or eat in them. For these purposes there were a number of small blocks of buildings mostly south of the Main Building, which would not today be considered as suitable for servants' quarters. They were small, badly built, ill ventilated, unsightly buildings, dotted about haphazardly. They were described in 1901 by the Inspector-General of Schools, Central Provinces, Mr. Munro, as 'smoke-begrimed huts.' The largest room in the best block measured only 12 feet square. In these rooms, of which only a few favoured boys had more than one, not only did a boy dress and spend his spare time but his food was cooked and eaten there also. Even worse than that, all his servants lived and slept in this room too. There were no bathrooms, and boys and servants bathed together round a few taps in the open air. There was no proper drainage system and the surroundings both of the blocks and the taps were disfigured with rubbish and mud. These arrangements were the least satisfactory visible features of the College in its early days, both from the disciplinary and hygienic points of view. I have not been able to find out how many of these blocks there were but I guess thatt there were by 1906 eight or nine, the best of which was one containing eight rooms constructed in 1906. The Bastar and Gangpur states and the Bhopalpatnam Zamindari each constructed a small block containing two or three rooms for the accommodation of their boys when they joined the College. When these boys left the blocks were used by other boys, and eventually the Gangpur block was bought by the College as the residence of the First Assistant Master. In Mr. Stow's time all these blocks were demolished.

About 50 yards to the north of the main building and facing it, was a house, surrounded by a garden, which until 1898 was the circuit house of Raipur and then became the residence of the Principal until 1915. It contained four living rooms of fair size. A

photograph of it has kindly been given to me by Mrs. Stow and is reproduced in this book.

South of the main building was a small garden and a fountain, and south of the present junior hockey ground an experimental farm was started in 1903. Near the south gate between the farm and the dairy stood the stables, also demolished about 1914. Other buildings, which existed but which I have not been able to locate, were a covered-in gymnasium, a riding school situated probably where the Vice-Principal's house now stands, and a Modi's shop. There was no hospital until 1906, a Science Laboratory was built in 1908, and even in 1912 there were no separate kitchens or servants' quarters, no cricket pavilion, and no masters' quarters inside the grounds except those which I have mentioned as occupied by the Principal and the First Assistant. The ground west of Rajendra Das Boarding House, the cricket ground and the junior hockey ground were the only open spaces available for games and exercise. There were two tennis courts on the cricket ground and one each in the Political Agent's and Principal's gardens. Hockey and football were both played on the present junior hockey ground and sometimes on the maidan outside the grounds, but it appears thatt hockey was much less popular then. These playing fields, however, were quite sufficient for the number of boys at the College in those days. The gardens near the Main Building were poor enough to invite the unfavourable comment of one Chief Commissioner and the grounds were at first very bare of trees. Mr. Oswell, the Principal from 1894 to 1909, planted as many as he could afford to, his biggest effort coming in 1901 when 82 trees were planted, one for each year of Her Majesty Queen Victoria's life, as the College memorial to her. There seems to be no hope of identifying these trees accurately, but my own guess is thatt the memorial trees are those surrounding the cricket ground and junior hockey ground which seem to be of about the right age and numbered 78 in 1937.

The College owned one small house on the maidan east of and outside the grounds. This house was bought in 1896 from a man engaged in recruiting coolies for the tea gardens of Assam and was rented for some years by the son of the Sansthanik Raja of Nagpur. Later on it was used to accommodate two members of the Staff.

### Management

The records of the period 1894–1912 show most clearly thatt, whatever may have been the 'paper' constitution, the real management of the College was entirely in the hands of certain C.P. officials. The

fact thatt such a system would be unsatisfactory today does not imply thatt it was unsatisfactory then. Any other system would probably have been more unsatisfactory because impracticable. In those days Rulers and Zamindars moved about less, communications were more difficult, and, as a class, they were unacquainted with the business of managing a boarding-school. It would probably have increased the popularity of the College considerably if several Rulers and Zamindars had taken an active and influential share in its management, but the fact remains thatt they did not and, in all probability, could not. The then Maharaja of Patna State and the then Rajas of Raigarh and Khairagarh States are the only Rulers who during this period seem ever to have attended meetings or to have made constructive proposals.

Another striking feature of the management of the College in those days was the extremely limited power of the Principal. He seems to have been allowed to do little on his own. He required sanction from outside in a host of matters which today never come before the Committee at all; what punishment to give a boy, what to say to a guardian, whether a request for leave may be granted, when the door leading to the dormitories should be locked, whether the pay of a boy's servants might be raised. To illustrate this point further, I shall give one instance only, dating from as late as 1916. The fact thatt it concerns a very petty matter emphasizes all the more forcibly the close control under which the Principal worked. When the old Political Agent's house was being demolished preparatory to the construction of the present house of the Principal, twelve spades and pickaxes and fifty iron pans were needed. Not only did the Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division, have to sanction them but his office ordered them from Calcutta and in the first instance paid for them!

The management, then, was in official hands and centralized. All important questions were decided by the Chief Commissioner, C.P., and he usually visited the College every year and wrote a note saying what he wanted done or not done. Sir Andrew Fraser's note of July 1901 was the most important of these. The teaching was inspected annually by an official from Nagpur called the Inspector-General of Schools or by one of his subordinates, the Inspector of Schools, Eastern Circle, or the Inspector of Schools, Chhattisgarh States. It seems also thatt no appointment of a teacher was made without the approval of the Inspector-General. The holder of this post from 1896–1904 was Mr. A. Monro and he devoted a great amount of attention to the affairs of the College.

Except thatt the wishes of the Chief Commissioner and the Inspector-General had to be respected, the affairs of the College were

left in the hands of a Governing Body and a Board of Visitors, the moving spirit of both being the Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division. On who he was and the interest he took, depended the life of the institution in those critical days. I do not think thatt this is saying too much. He was President of the Governing Body and Chief Visitor. Most of the year he was in Raipur. He was the sole channel of communication between the C.P. Government and the College. Not only were the present civil districts of Raipur, Drug, and Bilaspur, and till 1906 Sambalpur, in his charge, but all the Chhattisgarh States as well. Until 1906 those included Kalahandi, Patna, Gangpur, Sonepur and Bamra States but not Jashpur. The Political Agent, Chhattisgarh States, was in the same relationship to him in those days as the Deputy Commissioner of a district is now. The Commissioner was therefore an official of great influence and importance to the College.

From 1894 to 1912 there were four Commissioners who held charge during nine-tenths of the period. They were Messrs. Fraser, Younghusband, Phillips and Laurie. They all stayed several years in the division and gave much attention to the College, Mr. Fraser and Mr. Younghusband especially. To them all the College owes a very great debt. If they had done less than they did, I doubt whether the College would exist at Raipur today. Mr. Fraser has already been mentioned as the real founder of the College in 1894 who raised the first endowment fund. He will appear again in this history in two places; as the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, who in 1901 endeavoured to raise the College to the level of a High School and to improve the curriculum; and as the Lieut-Governor of Bengal who started sending boys to the College from that province (which then included Orissa and Bihar) and who first sanctioned an annual grant of Rs. 2,000 from Bengal.

One instance will suffice to show Mr. Younghusband's interest. One of his first actions was to invite the Board of Visitors to meet at the College every month, and from June 1898 to April 1901 very few months elapsed without a visit from himself and a note on the College in his own writing. His picture and that of Sir Andrew Fraser hang on the walls of the Hall to-day.

Mr. Phillips was Commissioner, with a few intervals of leave, for even longer, from 1902 to 1911; and he maintained the interest in and frequent visits to the College which Mr. Younghusband had initiated. A reader of the records of his time has cause to be thankful for the beautiful handwriting of both Mr. Phillips and Mr. Laurie. The latter used to officiate for Mr. Phillips for short periods towards the end of his time and succeeded him as Commissioner in 1911. His

chief work for the College in that office was done from 1913 to 1916 and will be referred to in chapter III. The Laurie hockey cup still commemorates his name.

It is necessary, in order to obtain a true picture, to emphasize this importance of the Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division, in the early history of the College. That does not imply thatt many other Central Provinces officials did not serve the College well also. They cannot all be mentioned but I should not omit the important part played by some Political Agents, Chhattisgarh States, not only because their duty was to arouse interest in the College in the States but also because during much of this period they actually lived in the College grounds. Mr. Sly, Mr. Womack, Mr. Laurie, and Mr. Blakesley, are the four names which stand out. Mr. Laurie has already been mentioned and will be again. Mr. Blakesley's services were more important after 1912 than before. Mr. Womack was Political Agent from 1901–1906 and he gave the College Rs. 1,000 on his departure, the interest on which sum still defrays the cost of the gold medal given annually for conduct. Mr. Sly does not appear to have taken a large part in the management of the College when he lived there as Political Agent at the time when Mr. Younghusband was Commissioner; but this first appearance of his name is of interest because of the services he rendered later as Sir Frank Sly, the last Chief Commissioner and the first Governor of the Central Provinces. His name will always be remembered for the invaluable help which he rendered during that most critical period of 1922–23.

It will be merely tedious, I think, to supply lists of members of the Governing Body and Board of Visitors for each year between 1894 and 1912. I am contenting myself with giving only the members of the first Governing Body and Visiting Board. The membership of each changed surprisingly little during the period. I have noted a few of these changes in the following list.

**First Governing Body**

THE COMMISSIONER, CHHATTISGARH DIVISION—*President.*
THE POLITICAL AGENT, CHHATTISGARH FEUDATORIES.
THE INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF EDUCATION, C.P. (Replaced after 1902 by the DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, C.P.)
THE OFFICER COMMANDING THE STATION, RAIPUR (post abolished in 1902).
THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, RAIPUR.
THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, BILASPUR.
THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, SAMBALPUR (replaced about 1906 by the DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF DRUG).
THE CIVIL SURGEON, RAIPUR.

THE EXECUTIVE ENGINEER, CHHATTISGARH STATES.
THE FEUDATORY CHIEFS (as they were then called) of PATNA, KALAHANDI, SONEPUR, BAMRA, RAIGARH, KHAIRAGARH AND NANDGAON (from time to time the States represented on the Governing Body changed slightly).
THE ZAMINDARS OF KHARIAR AND SAHASPUR—LOHARA.
THE PRINCIPAL—*Secretary*.

This marked official majority lasted up to 1920. I find thatt this Governing Body met 68 times between 1895 and 1912. There is no record of any meeting in 1897. In the other 17 years the average number of meetings is exactly four.

The only important addition was not made till November 1910 when the Political Agent, Orissa Feudatory States, Sambalpur, became an ex-officio member. At the same time the representation of the Chiefs and Zamindars was altered as follows: 'The Governing Body shall include at least three of the Feudatory Chiefs and Zamindars of the Central Provinces and two of the Feudatory Chiefs and Zamindars of Orissa if so many are found willing to serve.'

The Board of Visitors started in 1895 as a few officials who visited the College informally when convenient to themselves and wrote about their visit in a book. It developed, from Mr. Younghusband's time onward, into a small executive committee which met frequently, at one time once a month. A great amount of the work now done by the Principal on his own authority came before it, and there was in the end hardly any business of the Governing Body that was not first discussed by the Visitors. The Chief Commissioner was Visitor-in-Chief and the Board consisted at first of:

THE COMMISSIONER, CHHATTISGARH DIVISION
THE POLITICAL AGENT, CHHATTISGARH FEUDATORIES
THE INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF SCHOOLS C.P. (afterwards THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, CENTRAL PROVINCES)
THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, RAIPUR
THE CIVIL SURGEON, RAIPUR
THE EXECUTIVE ENGINEER, CHHATTISGARH STATES, became a visitor later.

In 1912, on Mr. Stow's arrival, this Board ceased to exist as such and the members of it joined the newly named Managing Committee.

**The Staff.**

I think thatt it is not an overstatement to describe the Staff of the College, at least up to 1904, as practically a one-man Staff. This is indicated by the proportion of the pay of the Principal to the total annual expenditure of the College in those days. His pay was 55% of the total. When his pay was Rs. 6,000 per annum, that of

all the other teachers amounted to Rs. 2,220 only. It is obvious from these figures thatt the Principal was expected to run the College single-handed out of class hours. His colleagues were employed only to take classes. They did not live in the College grounds, they had no time-scale of pay, they were promised no increments, they enjoyed no provident fund until 1912. During the first ten years there were only three regular Indian masters, though from time to time temporary help was taken from local men and the private tutors of boys. The first assistant received Rs. 80–100 p.m., the second about Rs. 60–70, the third Rs. 45–50. A non-resident Assistant Surgeon was paid Rs. 50 per month for medical attendance on the boys. Whoever undertook the night duty of sleeping with the boys, sometimes a master, sometimes a tutor, received a small allowance. There was no whole-time Housemaster. Until 1901 there was not a single clerk in the office and there was no type-writer even in 1912!

The Staff arrangements were bound to have consequences unfavourable to the progress of the College. The only excuse for them is thatt they were cheap at a time when the College could not afford better ones.

If the Principal had not only to perform the usual duties of his post but also to be his own Housemaster, Gamesmaster, and clerk, it became inevitable thatt his supervision of the boys was not sufficiently thorough. He was asked to do more than any one man could do well and was paid so much more than his colleagues thatt he must have felt it his duty to do nearly everything himself.

The terms offered to the assistant masters were not such as were likely to attract or keep good men. Masters were constantly coming and going. Their skill in the classrooms appears to have been small; their influence for good outside them negligible. The main reason why the College made little real progress up to 1912 is thatt it employed a Staff most of whom were incapable of good work. No master before 1912 possessed a M.A. degree; very few were graduates. None of them had had any professional training. Many were too old.

The only master sent for training was Mr. C. S. Misra, who spent a year in Nagpur studying agriculture, horticulture, village accounts, mensuration and surveying. Soon after he returned, he left the College service.

The fact thatt, up to 1904, only the Principal, and, from then to 1912, only the Principal and the First Assistant lived in the grounds side by side with the boys, resulted in the boys' being kept much too much under the influence of their low-paid tutors and numerous private servants. There was far too little counter-influence.

It does not seem necessary to mention the names of all the masters of those days. Only a few deserve mention, the first of whom is Thakur Dalchand. He was the only link between the hostel at Jubbulpore and the College at Raipur. He was recruited by Mr. Young in 1882, joined at Raipur in 1894 and retired in the time of Mr. Stow in 1913 after 31 years service. Babu Parasram and Basroo, chaprassi, are two other early employees distinguished by their long service. The former was the first clerk to be employed by the College in 1901, retired in 1932 from the post of head clerk, and is still, I am glad to say, living in Raipur. Basroo was the first chaprassi engaged in 1894 and died in service in 1935, 41 years later. The First Assistant in 1894 was Mr. Chunilal Dube of whom little is known, but the master who held that post with greatest success before 1912 was Mr. S. M. Banerjei who joined in 1906 and did very valuable work during a difficult period when the Principalship was frequently changing hands.

In 1903 an attempt was made to strengthen the Indian Staff. It was increased from 3 to 7 masters, and better salaries were offered. The Indian Staff in 1904 was:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| N. R. Mukerjee, B.A. ... | First Assistant ... | Rs. 125 p.m. ... | Joined in 1903 |
| C. S. Misra, B.A. ... | Second ,, ... | 100 ,, ... | ,, 1899 |
| Ratan Singh, B.A. ... | Third ,, ... | 100 ,, ... | ,, 1903 |
| Thakuk Dalchand, F.A. | Fourth ,, ... | 80 ,, ... | ,, 1882 |
| G. Kirolikar, F.A. ... | Fifth ,, ... | 45 ,, ... | ,, 1901 |
| Gopinath Swar, Matric. | Oriya Assistant | 60 ,, ... | ,, 1902 |
| S. F. Ghate ... | Drawing Master ... | 60 ,, ... | ,, 1903 |

These improvements in numbers and salaries had the effect of stopping the former frequency of resignations, but it cannot be said thatt the results of the College were much more satisfactory after 1904 than before it. The constant changes of Principal, however, during this period, which have been mentioned already, can be accepted as a big reason for the disappointing results of this first reform of Staff. In 1912 the Indian Staff consisted of:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| S. N. Banerjei ... | First Assistant ... | Rs. 300 ... | Joined in 1906 |
| T. Ratan Singh ... | Second Assistant ... | 250 ... | ,, 1903 |
| Thakur Dalchand | Third ,, ... | 96 ... | ,, 1882 |
| G. Kirolikar ... | Fourth ,, ... | 74 ... | ,, 1901 |
| Gopinath Swar ... | Oriya ,, ... | 80 ... | ,, 1902 |
| S. F. Ghate ... | Drawing Master ... | 60 ... | ,, 1903 |

A weakness of this Staff appears to be thatt only Mr. Banerjei was under 35 and thatt three of the six were over 40. Too many of them must have been insufficiently active for boarding-school life.

They were all replaced soon after Mr. Stow became Principal, though the departure of Mr. Banerjei was much regretted.

Other Chiefs' Colleges have in recent years found their plans for strengthening their Staffs very seriously handicapped by the fact thatt several of their masters were pensionable Government servants with whose services the Colleges could not dispense until they had earned full pensions. The College has escaped this most difficult situation in any private school possessing only a small Staff, but by good luck rather than by good management. More than once before 1912 the Governing Body recommended to the Central Provinces Government to make the College masters pensionable Government servants. It has become clear only comparatively recently how providential it was thatt these requests were refused and what a millstone round the neck of a small school an irremovable Staff is bound to be.

I began this section by pointing out how very much depended in early days on the Principal of the College. I shall close it with some information about the Principals of this period and shall attempt a special estimate of the work and character of the Rev. G. D. Oswell who was Principal during most of the time. He actually served the College from 1894 to 1909 but took leave in 1898, 1902 and 1907–08. During these absences the acting Principals were:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1898 ... | ... J. W. E. Poynting, I.C.S. |
| 1902 ... | ... C. U. Wills, I.C.S. |
| 1907–8 ... | ... T. H. French |

While Mr. French was officiating, he fell ill, and his place was taken for a short time by Mr. K. B. Williamson, I.E.S., Inspector of Schools, Eastern Circle, Central Provinces. In October 1908 Mr. French died as the result of a fall down a hillside at Mussoorie and Mr. Oswell returned in November. This he had not intended to do. He had resigned his appointment in August 1908 and the Governing Body had accepted the resignation. Mr. French had been appointed for five years from October 1908 to take his place. Only the sudden death of Mr. French brought Mr. Oswell back for a last short spell of service with the result thatt he did not retire for good until June 1909. He died in England suddenly in 1910. He was succeeded as Principal by Mr. G. S. Carey 1909–12. He was not considered suitable to carry through the reorganization of the College which was seen in 1911 to be urgently needed, and gave place in August 1912 to Mr. V. A. S. Stow, M.A., I.E.S. who had been an assistant master at the Daly College, Indore, from 1907 to 1912, and whose services were lent by the Government of India.

Mr. Oswell's salary started at Rs. 500 p.m., and rose by annual increments of Rs. 50 to Rs. 1,000 p.m. Mr. French was engaged on a salary of Rs. 750–50–1,000 p.m., and Mr. Carey was paid an average of Rs. 925 p.m., during the three years of his Principalship. The Principals lived in a free house but had no provident fund, pension, allowance, or formal contract. The terms of Mr. Oswell's and Mr. French's informal agreements with the Governing Body were much the same.

(*a*) a five-year agreement in the first place;
(*b*) six months leave counting as service during this period;
(*c*) twelve months leave counting as service after 8 years service;
(*d*) a bonus on resignation of Rs. 1,000 at least for every year of service; this bonus to begin to take effect after completion of 5 years service;
(*e*) free medical attendance;
(*f*) after five years service, his service to be terminated by six months notice on either side.
(*g*) the salary paid during leave periods to be not less than half the salary beng drawn at the commencement of the leave.

Mr. French's death terminated his agreement almost as soon as it had begun. Mr. Oswell's ran for 16 years and he received a bonus of Rs. 21,000 on his retirement. Neither Mr. Oswell, Mr. French, nor Mr. Carey, was a Government servant.

These facts, I think, prove thatt what the College was in 1912 was largely the work of certain Commissioners of the Chhattisgarh Division and of Mr. Oswell. As he has now been dead over a quarter of a century it is high time to attempt to draw a picture of the man and his work. If the attempt is not made now, it will soon be too late to find anyone in this province who remembers him.

Mr. Younghusband knew the College long and intimately. He often was extremely critical and he did not mince his words. The following tribute of his written in 1901 carries the more weight because he is known to have been a man who did not, when he felt dissatisfaction, hesitate to express it forcibly.

'. . . It is great satisfaction to me, on leaving the Division, to feel that the College has now firmly established itself on a thoroughly healthy basis; it has passed successfully through the trials inseparable from the stage of extreme infancy and has a very hopeful future before it. The College owes everything to Mr. Oswell and my own obligations to him are of no ordinary character. We have been working together in the interests of the College since the day it came into existence and there has never been anything to mar the cordiality of our relations. The loyalty with which he has set himself to carry out the policy laid down for him, even when most opposed to his own preconceived views, has been conspicuous in his dealings with

the Governing Body and has contributed largely to the success which his enthusiastic zeal has assured.'

The late Rev. J. Gass, D.D., of the American Evangelical Mission, Raipur, was for close on fifteen years his friend, and he was good enough to write down at my request in 1937 his recollections of Mr. Oswell.

'You ask me for recollections about Messrs. Oswell and Carey. I am sorry I don't know much about Mr. Carey but I was much befriended with Mr. Oswell. It is very difficult for me to give information about him as Principal of the Rajkumar College as I did not see his work enough to judge about it. I remember that the Commissioner in a speech at the Prize Distribution said: "One word will give us all the information we want about his work and that word is 'thorough.'" He was a very strict disciplinarian and the story goes that he, as a bachelor, did not allow a single woman to live in the compound of the Rajkumar College, not even a chaprassi's wife. His work was difficult. I saw the first Rajkumars when he walked with them to the Durbar tent where the Chief Commissioner, Sir John Woodburn, opened the College with a long address in the Hindi language. The first kumars looked very old-fashioned and much different from the students you have at present and I am sure it was not easy for the Principal to find the approach to these old-fashioned young kumars.

As a man, Oswell did much work in town besides his work at the Rajkumar College. He was President of the Municipal Committee for a number of years. In 1900, he was the President of a committee that did much to distribute food to children and cloth to the grown-up people. I myself was a member of that committee. He has written a book as far as I know of the work of this committee during the famine years. He also was one of the founders of the Leper Asylum. Mr. Oswell was a very religious man. We did not often have a chaplain when he was in Raipur, so Mr. Oswell was reading the prayers every Sunday evening in the Church of England except on those Sundays when the chaplain would come. He was also a literary man and I am sure you have his work about the Indian Princes. Before he left he told me: "My palmy days are over. I have to leave, I don't feel well and don't get better." He had much trouble with his ears and became very deaf.

Mr. Carey was not known much in town and I am sorry I can't say much about him. He was a great walker and walked almost every evening from the Rajkumar College to the Club. My opinion is that he was not as popular as Mr. Oswell, who was well-connected with all the leading men of Raipur.'

Babu Paras Ram who was Mr. Oswell's clerk from 1901 has also very kindly written at my request about him and the College of his day. Some of his facts do not agree with mine but that is to be expected. He is writing out of his memory of some forty years ago; I, with the

help of records and reports, of a time and person I never knew. Some discrepancies in the circumstances are inevitable.

'The Rajkumar College was started in 1895 at Raipur. According to the reports of the Health Officers, Raipur was considered to be the best place for these reasons—a good climate, the living was cheap, and it was a convenient and central place in all respects; and so the College was shifted to Raipur.

The number of boys on the roll was 25 to 27. There was an equal number of boys from the States and the Estates. The fees were Rs. 25 per month. The compound and the building belonged to the Commissioner's and P.A.'s offices. These were given to the Rajkumar College. Nearby was a bungalow known as the circuit house. The Principal used to live in this. Later on Mr. Stow demolished it, thinking it too close to the College and so unsuitable for a married couple to live in. Similarly a small hospital which was situated on the College road was demolished and a new one built at another place. The ground floor of the Commissioner's office was used for classes and the first floor for dormitories. The first floor was one big hall. The parents did not like it and so the hall was split up into many rooms by wooden partitions. The boy's head-servants used to sleep with them. There were many houses in the compound for kumars to live in. Similarly there were separate kitchens for each kumar. Due respect was shown to different castes and sub-castes; therefore, each kumar had a separate kitchen. Guardians' opinions on these points were respected. Orthodoxy, untouchability, etc. were held in great regard. The guardians were consulted before making any changes. Mr. Womack, the P.A., used to live in a separate bungalow (occupied by Messrs. Das and Gadre in 1944) in the compound. The successor of Mr. Womack, Mr. De Brett, lived in 1908 in a straw-thatched house, situated where the Principal's house is at present. There was another straw-thatched house belonging to Ravi Nath Shastri. Raja Bahadur Jawahir Singh of Sarangarh lived in this after leaving the College. There was only one well, the water of which was considered very good according to the report of Health Officers. Whenever a new building was needed, the Rulers and the Zamindars were approached.

The Managing Committee consisted of the Commissioner, the P.A., the D.C. of Raipur, the Civil Surgeon, the Inspector of Schools, and the Principal as Secretary. The committee used to meet every three months. The Inspector of Schools inspected the College. The examinations used to be annual; and the inspection and progress report was printed. There used to be two terms and examinations were held in each of them. There used to be no spot-audit but the cash-book entries with vouchers were sent to the Commissioner's office. When Mr. Oswell went on leave for the first time, Mr. Williamson, Agency Inspector of Schools, was in charge of the College, and when he went on leave a second time, Mr. C. U. Wills, I.C.S., was in charge of the College for four months and stayed in the College circuit house. At first in the College there was no regular office for keeping accounts etc. The Staff were deputed every week to do accounts and correspondence work. An office was created in 1900 and I was appointed. The final responsibility rested on the Commissioner of Chhattisgarh. The

kumars were admitted on his recommendation. The Chief Commissioner visited the College once a year. The Rulers and the Zamindars were invited at that time. The benefits of College education were explained to them and an appeal for funds was made for any new scheme. The Staff was appointed by the Local Government through the Chief Commissioner's office. There were very few persons on the Staff and the salaries were meagre. Besides the Principal, there was one graduate on the Staff, the rest were under-graduates or matriculates. In 1905 the Staff was increased and the salaries slightly improved. Mr. Oswell started on Rs. 500 and retired on Rs. 800. He took leave in the summer of 1909. He gave the keys of the safe to me, gave over charge, informed the Commissioner, and went away. Mr. Phillips was the Commissioner at that time. He was succeeded by Mr. Laurie. Rs. 21,000 were given as a bonus to Mr. Oswell on the recommendation of the Managing Committee and with the sanction of the Local Government. There was no pension or provident fund scheme for the Staff.

Each kumar's boarding and lodging arrangement was independent. Each kumar had at least three servants—one head servant, one cook and one khidmatgar (khawas). The cook used to be one of his relations. The head-servant used to be a responsible person. He used to keep accounts of the kumar's expenses. The College had nothing to do with the kumars' private expenses. Each kumar had a horse and a syce. Visiting another kumar's kitchen was strictly forbidden. No person from the States could come and stay without the Principal's permission. When they came they brought introductory letters.

Good care was taken to prevent kumars from taking to any vice. There used to be a medical examination each term. There was no school dress. Some used to put on achkhans, some coats and caps interwoven with silk and gold thread, and so on. Cars did not exist then. Only carpentry and agriculture were taught. Games, Indian exercises, Kabaddi etc., were played. Cricket, foot-ball and hockey had been introduced. On each Sunday kumars used to go out in charge of a master.

The teaching was up to sixth standard English. It took six years. The syllabus was on the lines of the public middle-schools. There was no public examination. It was considered enough to study up to the high-school entrance examination. No urge was felt for hgher education. Once the Chief Commissioner said something to the same effect, "It is enough for the Rajkumars if they reach the sixth standard English."

There was freedom for kumars to follow the religion of their varna (caste). Ganesh and Holi were celebrated in the College. The Ramayana and the Gita were studied. The kumars could keep the images of different Gods most dear to them in their quarters. Kumars were allowed to go out and see Rama-Lila. They also used sometimes to visit temples with a master.

There used to be a durbar during the visit of the Chief Commissioner to Raipur. Ruling Chiefs used to attend it with great pomp. The kumars also used to be invited and they attended it in charge of a master.

The holidays consisted of one month for Dashera, two months in the summer and 15 days at Christmas.

Mr. Oswell first came as private tutor to a Gond Raja of Nagpur in 1894 for some time. When the Rajkumar College was shifted from Jubbul-

pore to Raipur, he was appointed the Principal in 1895. He was a missionary. In the beginning he used to find it very difficult to speak in Hindi. Later on he learnt Hindi. Not only that, he could speak Chhattisgarhi too. Every Sunday he used to give a religious talk to the servants. He was very good-natured. He was not hot-tempered. He was very kind-hearted and generous. He used to attend public meetings and public functions. He was liked by the people. He was President of the Raipur Municipality for eight years. He was strict towards the Staff but still he managed to harm nobody and keep cordial relations with all. If there came to him from outside some adverse report about a member of the Staff or a servant, he strongly defended him. He highly respected the guardians of kumars. He was very much attached to the kumars. He used to take them with him in his carriage. He used to buy for them good and expensive articles. He had great regard for the kumars. He used to buy them costly clothes, watches, etc. He used to say to the kumars, "You are Rajkumars. You should own nice articles befitting your position." He did not allow women to come in the College compound. He was a bachelor. He contracted an illness and so took leave and left for England in 1909.

He wrote a book named *A Sketch of Rulers of India* in four volumes. He published it with his money at the Oxford Clarendon Press. He was very large-hearted. He was respected and he carried influence in higher circles.'

Raja Jawahir Singh Bahadur, C.I.E., Ruler of Sarangarh State and one of the few Old Boys of the pre-1912 perod still available to consult on the distant past of the College, has been good enough to add the following notes to the record:

'I contradict that boys and servants bathed together. The boys had tap baths—a set of six bath-cubicles with wooden partitions upstairs, behind the old main College buildings connected by a flight of stairs, a little distance away from the kumars' "smoke-begrimed huts".

There were five blocks of huts; the Gangpur, Bastar, Bhopalpatnam, and two general blocks of six rooms each behind the College main building. Later after I left school another block of ten rooms was constructed on then modern lines with a separate kitchen for each room in the block.

The experimental farm was started to the south of the Vice-Principal's bungalow which was in my time the riding school. I held charge of the farm when Mr. Misra left the College and got an appointment at Pusa.

There was a covered gymnasium along-side the old main building of the College on the eastern side fifty yards away, (that is to say on the site where Balram Das boarding house now stands).

The northern half of the stables was used as a modi's shop and the southern was a stable for 18 ponies. It was situated near the well to the south of the present College building.

Mr. Dalchand, the Superintendent of the dormitory and Mr. Misra lived in quarters inside the grounds besides the Principal and the first assistant master in my time.

There was a small cricket pavilion of a very primitive type but as big as

the existing pavilion at Nagpur. It was situated to the west of the present cricket ground.

Until 1906, Patna, Sonepur, Kalahandi, Bamra, and Rairakhol States were in the Chhattisgarh Agency. Gangpur and Jashpur were out of it.

Babu Parasram in his note of recollection says that Mr. Oswell came out to India or was first employed as a tutor to the Gond Raja of Nagpur. I contradict it, because Mr. Oswell himself always said to me that he came out to India as a padre but was employed as a tutor to the Maharaja of Nadia. While in Bengal he wrote a novel called *The Spoilt Child* a copy of which was presented to me by the author and I believe I still possess it somewhere in my library.

Babu Parasram, has unfortunately made some misstatements of facts. For instance, all P.A.'s, from the time of Mr. Sly, lived in a thatched bungalow west of the College where now stands the Principal's residence and never in the big white house in the north-west quarter of the grounds.

In one of his statements, he has made a further mistake in stating that Mr. Oswell learnt Hindi and also spoke Chhattisgarhi—a language spoken round about Raipur. His knowledge of Hindi was very nearly as bad as I have frequently heard from a member of the I.E.S. from Oxford who has recently been created a Companion of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire! But I must say that Mr. Oswell was a great Sanskrit scholar, and Dr. Venis, Principal of Queen's College, Benares, and he always spoke in Sanskrit as I have myself heard, but I have never known him speak Chhattisgarhi, although I was his pet boy. Mr. C. U. Wills, I.C.S., spoke Chhattisgarhi and he took a delight in speaking to me in Chhattisgarhi even on the cricket field.

My own reminiscences of Mr. Oswell as Principal of the Rajkumar College, Raipur, are naturally very brief, because I was a "chokra" and I did not come into close contact with my "Guru", until I was promoted to the top class which was nothing very grand, compared to what it is to-day. But IVth standard was something in the days of old for us, and what disquietened some of the intellectually able boys was that they were not permitted to leave school for higher education elsewhere. In my case, my natural guardians were ladies of the very very orthodox old school, so I approached my Principal, and during evening recess hours, whenever I was called up, I used to open the question of sending me for higher studies. His answer was always disappointing that he simply could not help.

Mr. Oswell always radiated kindness and good nature. One glance at his happy and handsome face inspired confidence. I was greatly honoured when he told me that he was going to appoint me prefect of the school and captain of the games, and naturally I was more than pleased.

He was very popular amongst the boys. He was thorough and generous and really all kindness.'

There seems no doubt on this evidence thatt Mr. Oswell was a scholar of the highest character with a charming personality, who devoted himself heart and soul to his duties. It is not so certain however, as the following pages will show, thatt he was a very competent school-master and sufficiently forceful to stand up against oppo-

sition for the sake of what he knew, or ought to have known, to be educationally right.

The portrait of Mr. Oswell painted in 1941 by Mr. Pancholey from a photograph is reproduced in this book.

**Difficulties**

Several references have been made on previous pages to the difficulties which the authorities both at Jubbulpore and Raipur had to face in their attempts to give a useful education to the boys committed to their charge. These will be more fully discussed in this section.

The first is one, the harmful effect of which has not fully spent itself even to-day, though it has very greatly diminished. Though the general idea of a special school for the sons and relations of Rulers and Zamindars probably commanded some support from that class even in 1882; though the generous donations of 1894, 1914 and especially 1923, afford clear proof thatt this general idea did command considerable support from 1894 onwards; though the existence of this support has manifested itself in many other convincing ways in the last fifteen years; yet the particular idea of a certain boy being sent to the College has very frequently not received the support of his family. There are many instances in the history of the College where it has proved easier to obtain from a Ruler a gift of money than permission to educate his son. And not in this College only. There is a story of another Chiefs' College, told on good authority, which relates thatt a certain Ruler cheerfully paid schooling fees for his son for several years on the tacit understanding thatt his son would never be expected to enter its doors! It is probable thatt much of this reluctance to send their sons away from home to be educated came from the mothers. It is very understandable thatt they should object. Their mother-love, the traditions of their secluded lives, their ignorance of the world in general and of a boarding-school education in particular, their nervousness about their sons' safety, comfort and religious upbringing, their very natural inclination to listen to the dissuasion of people interested for their own ends in preventing such a step, the long separations involved; these and other such reasons for a long time made the College unpopular with the great majority of Maharanis and Ranis. It is perhaps inevitable thatt, so long as a lady observes purdah and has received but little general education herself, she is likely to disapprove of her sons' attending a residential school. Over the question of the education of their sons most husbands are naturally greatly influenced by their wives.

The chief weakness of Chiefs' Colleges, especially in the early days,

THE REV G. D. OSWELL M.A.
Principal 1894–1910

has been this. They did not have, and still do not have, sufficient parental support. Since it is universally recognized by educationists thatt a really good education depends on the close and cordial cooperation of both home and school; thatt it cannot be given fully by one of these agencies alone; that it becomes unobtainable when antagonism exists between them; then this lack of support was indeed a great and fundamental weakness. The problem is the more baffling because the weakness cannot be removed without the growth of social reforms which a Chief's College by itself is powerless to promote; namely disappearance of purdah and the better education of girls. These reforms will come in time, they are more clearly visible every year. But their coming was invisible between 1894 and 1912.

It was impossible in those days to propitiate the opposition from the homes of the boys. Most of the demands it was fatal to the success of the College to grant. It is easy to guess what they were; longer vacations from which boys would be permitted to return as and when they liked; frequent grants of leave in term time on every religious and social occasion; tutors to prepare the whole of a boy's work and to feed him with easily digested quantities of knowledge as a baby is fed from a bottle: innumerable private servants ministering to his safety and comfort, cutting him off as much as possible from mixing with other boys, fostering in him lack of self-reliance; in many but not all cases, exemption from any form of physical exercise which involved risk of injury or which the custom of their class had not dignified; horror of all forms of manual work; admission at an age when a boy was too old to adapt himself to a boarding-school life or to begin serious study of his books.

As a matter of fact, the College unfortunately did, during the period of which I am writing, yield to too many of these demands. This ill-advised leniency may be said to have been its second great weakness during this period. Yet the College authorities were on the horns of a dilemma. The more any of these demands from boys' homes were indulged, the worse became the training given; and the worse the training, the more unsatisfactory the College products and the more reasonable the parental reluctance to send boys to it. On the other hand, the less these demands were indulged, the greater would become the resentment against and the unpopularity of the College. The result, whatever the College attitude was, would be the same; reluctance to send boys. The College could not have failed to be overwhelmed by this inevitable unpopularity if it had not been for the high rate of mortality amongst the fathers of the class whose boys it sought to recruit!

The great majority of boys who entered the College up to not only 1912 but long after that year, were not sent by their fathers at all. They were Court of Wards boys whose fathers were dead and whose mothers could not prevent their official guardians from sending them. Most pupils who were sent in their fathers' lifetimes were sent, I suspect, only after official persuasion had been applied to their fathers. The boy sent willingly and voluntarily by his parents was a great rarity even when I first joined the College.

I have said enough to make clear thatt there was little real demand from Rulers and Zamindars, up to 1912 at any rate, for education at the College for their own sons. That demand had slowly to be created. It became here and there apparent in the second generation of pupils, is now becoming really helpful in the third and will probably be universal in the fourth. But in the first generation not only did it not exist, but the College made many mistakes in its efforts to create it. These mistakes were of two kinds.

There were rules of the Governing Body to limit private servants, to encourage common messing, to limit grants of leave in termtime, to enforce punctuality at the beginning of term, to secure a good standard of work and discipline, to protect boys from undesirable company or dangerous freedom of action, to secure the admission of boys at the proper age. They were either not enforced or interpreted too leniently.

There was a rule that one boy might employ only three servants and two brothers, five. But a boy from Chainpur came in 1909 with forty, six horses and a carriage! Though all did not stay, many more did than the rules allowed. A boy from Nandgaon came with eleven, including a manager, a tutor, a doctor, and a cashier; a boy from Khairagarh with nine.

In 1902 the Chiefs of the Chhattisgarh States approved the construction of a common dining hall. They subscribed Rs. 11,400 in 1905, and in 1904 the Central Provinces Government gave the College a building grant of Rs. 7,433. Yet none of this money was used for this admirable purpose which would have facilitated the reduction of private servants besides securing other much-needed educational advantages. Such a Hall has not been built even to-day.

There were innumerable resolutions of the Governing Body concerning the undesirability of granting leave in term time, but seldom a term went by without 20% of the boys getting such leave, and when they obtained it, they often overstayed it. One boy went for two weeks and stayed six months!

There was a very clear rule thatt, if a boy returned, say, five days late at the beginning of term, he had to be detained ten days during the

next vacation. There is no word in any record that I have read thatt this detention was ever enforced. Yet the unpunctuality was notorious. The Board of Visitors once paid a surprise visit two days after term had started and found one boy out of 23 present! It was on one occasion admitted to be rare thatt more than five returned punctually. On the other hand, it would be unfair not to mention the fact thatt in those days it was very much more difficult to reach Raipur than it is now. There was one case where the Political Agent himself supported an excuse for unpunctuality, because the journey to his own knowledge took 10 or 11 days at that particular time of year.

It was made clear by several Inspectors thatt the classroom standards were low: it was clear without their reports. Yet little was done to raise them.

There were several cases of breach of discipline detected, and there must have been many more cases undetected. Yet it is mentioned with satisfaction in one report thatt no punishment had been given to any boy for two years. On more than one occasion the Board of Visitors had actually to ask the Principal and Staff to give more punishments, as it was quite obvious to the Board thatt they were needed. Moreover from 1894–1903 only the Principal lived anywhere near the boys except for the Dormitory Supervisor at night, and from 1903–1912 only the Principal and First Assistant. The boys aided by a crowd of servants with whom they lived throughout the spare hours of each day must have had unlimited opportunities of doing whatever they liked.

It had been laid down in the Prospectuses and agreed at meetings of the Governing Body thatt boys of 14 and 15 were unsuitable for admission and thatt boys who were married were still more unsuitable both to admit and to retain. Yet many boys of these ages were admitted (always as a special case!), new boys of even 17 and 18 were refused admission only with obvious reluctance, and it is probable thatt up to 1912 one in three of the senior boys was married and the father of a child. Several grants of leave in order to get married are on record.

It was clearly stated in 1894 thatt the College was to be a boarding school. The authorities were fully aware thatt the training which they had to offer would be of very little value to any day-boy. Yet in 1897 there were five day-boys living in Raipur City and in 1898 four; not until the following year was the rule against day-boys properly enforced.

These seem to be faults of commission for which the Principal, Mr. Oswell, must take the responsibility. Very great though his difficulties were and excessive though his personal duties, he would have

been wiser to have been much more strict. But there were also other faults of omission for which those higher up than he, those who knew the States and whose business it was to frame a far-sighted policy for the College, must bear the responsibility.

The high officials interested in the College must have known thatt there was no genuine desire in early days among the Rulers and Zamindars to send their sons to it. The problem was to create a demand. It is of course easy at this distance of time to see thatt there was only one way to do this. It must not be forgotten thatt this would not have been nearly so easy to see in 1894. But I think thatt the solution ought not to have been beyond the power of the able Chief Commissioners of the Central Provinces and the Commissioners of Chhattisgarh (1894–1900) to perceive, helped as they were by their experience of the Rajkumar School at Jubbulpore. The solution was certainly apparent to Sir Andrew Fraser when he became Chief Commissioner, but 1902 was eight years too late.

Either no College ought to have been founded in 1894 or it ought to have been given from the start twice the funds it had. The only way to create a demand was to provide really good training, likely to produce young men who would be a real credit to the institution. They could have been produced, I believe, even then, if the College had provided proper accommodation and employed a first-rate staff teaching from the beginning up to Matric standards. Non-resident Indian masters on Rs. 60 or Rs. 70 a month and living rooms which were no better than servants' quarters were both equally out of place. But where was the money to come from?

From 1904 to 1923 the Central Provinces Government gave an annual grant to the College. At first it was Rs. 8,000 a year; by 1922 it had risen to some Rs. 40,000 a year. But from 1894 to 1903 the College received no grant at all. If all those large sums of money had been given to the College, not between 1904 and 1923, but between 1894 and 1913, I believe thatt the reputation of the College to-day would be twice what it is. When the College was a baby it received no more nutriment than kept it alive. It began to be fully nourished only at the end of a sickly childhood. Such nourishment given to a human being would come too late to give full adult strength and vigour. The metaphor applied to a school cannot be pressed so far. But it is hard to resist the feeling thatt, most generous though the financial assistance to the College from the Central Provinces Government was, it began ten years too late: thatt most devoted though many of its officials were in nursing the College in its babyhood, they forgot to give it sufficient food.

These criticisms, it must be remembered, relate to days nearly fifty years ago. It is the duty of a historian to tell the truth as he sees it, even of such a pale shadow of a historian as I. One fact cannot be denied—thatt the College from 1894 to 1912 was a very poor school for any boy. It failed to give a training of value to boys who were important people and who badly needed the best possible education. That, I say, is the historical fact. What I have written above, I offer as the main reason for this fact. The Central Provinces Government missed the vital moment when financial assistance was most required. When that assistance came, it came generously, but mischief had been done which it has taken years and years of uphill work to eradicate.

If it is the privilege of a historian to criticize, it is his duty also to praise where he sees praise to be due. The last thing that should mar an account of the College is failure to express to the Central Provinces Government the gratitude of the present for the help of the past. Elsewhere mention has been made of the great amount of voluntary service given to the College by Central Provinces officials from the Chief Commissioner himself downwards. It is hard to conceive to-day how such busy men found the time which they devoted to College affairs. I may be wrong in my criticism of their financial policy towards the College as badly timed: I cannot be wrong in expressing the gratitude of the College for the punctuality of their daily interest.

**Finance**

Much having been said above about the lack of money which at the beginning handicapped the efficiency of the College, I shall now describe what were its actual financial resources between 1894 and 1912. This period may be divided into two; 1894–1903 the no-grant period, and 1904–1912 the period when three Provincial Governments made grants.

The average annual income in the no-grant period was about Rs. 13,000 a sum which today is equal to about one month's income. In 1897 the income amounted to Rs. 13,124 and the expenditure to Rs. 12,842. These figures are typical of the 1894–1903 period. The income came almost entirely from two sources; interest on investments Rs. 4,364 and fees Rs. 8,400. The expenditure was confined almost entirely to paying the Staff. The Staff wages bill in 1897 amounted to Rs. 12,095 out of a total expenditure of Rs. 12,842. There was not enough money to pay for more than three Indian

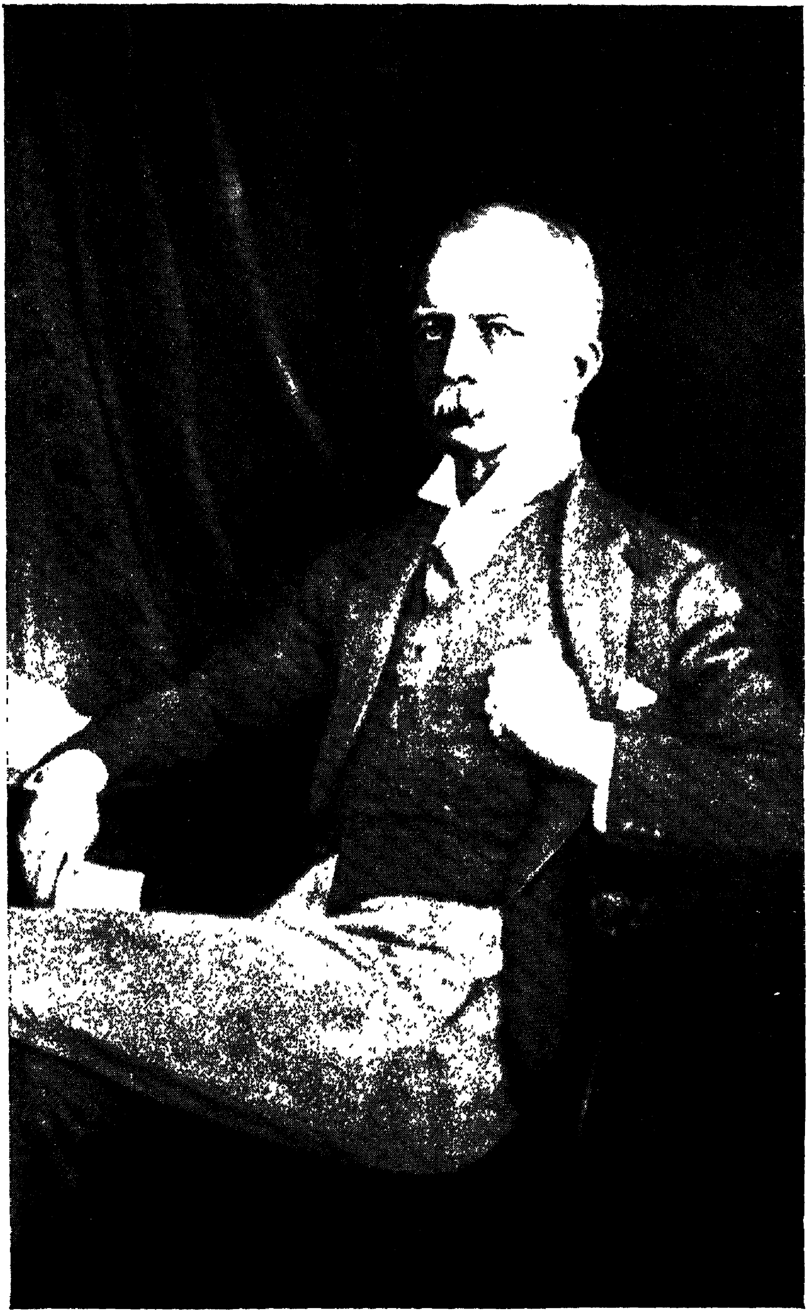
masters; they received salaries of only Rs. 80, Rs. 60, and Rs. 45 per month; and when they and the Principal had been paid, there was hardly any money left for any other purpose. What repairs and additions were made during this period were paid for out of capital; the only capital grant received came from the Central Provinces Government in 1895 —Rs. 1,000 towards a gymnasium.

By 1902 income had increased to Rs. 15,485 a year. Fees had risen to Rs. 10,038 and the Political Agent was now paying Rs. 1,200 as rent for his house. But expenditure had risen still more to Rs. 19,226. This sum included salaries Rs. 15,320 and contingencies Rs. 3,906.

Any prolongation of this excess of expenditure over income would soon have caused contraction of the College rather than expansion, but fortunately Sir Andrew Fraser came to the rescue of the school which he had largely founded. In July 1901 he wrote a note on the College to which I shall refer more fully later. The gist of it from a financial point of view was the necessity of securing more funds to pay for a better Staff, to open high-school classes, and to provide better accommodation and equipment. As the result mainly of his note, the Central Provinces Government, from 1904 in the time of Sir John Hewitt, started making an annual grant to the College. The amount from 1904–11 was Rs. 8,000 per annum; in 1911 it was increased to Rs. 8,735 per annum and after Mr. Stow's arrival in 1912 it was increased again by very much more. But the tale of his Principalship belongs to the next chapter.

In addition to this recurring grant the Central Provinces Government made two non-recurring building grants, one of Rs. 7,433 in 1904, the other of Rs. 4,000 in 1906–07. The former grant is the one which I regret was not devoted to paying part of the cost of a common dining-hall; it was mainly spent, instead, on a hospital building, on an experimental farm which soon came to nothing, and on the purchase of the old Gangpur block of quarters, the latter a sad waste of money! The other grant of Rs. 4,000 was devoted entirely to building and equipping a Science Laboratory, also demolished later.

Though these grants were made after Sir Andrew Fraser had left the province, it seems certain thatt the policy of giving an annual grant was formulated by him. He did not stop at that. When he became Lieut.-Governor of Bengal he started making a grant of Rs. 2,000 per annum from that province as well as sending boys from there to be educated. This grant continued from 1904 until 1912 when Bihar and Orissa were formed into a new province. The example of Sir Andrew Fraser in Bengal was copied by the



Sir Andrew Fraser K.C.S.I., I.C.S.

Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam which made an annual grant of Rs. 1,000 from 1907–1911.

The Chiefs and Zamindars followed the example set by these three Governments. A rule had been made in 1896 thatt a boy on leaving should be invited to donate a year's fees to the Endowment Fund. It is on record thatt about a dozen boys helped this fund in this way. A larger gift was one of Rs. 11,400 in 1905 by nine Chhattisgarh States and four Zamindaris. If this money had been added to the Rs. 7,433 given by Government in 1904, the total would probably have sufficed to build both the hospital and common dining-room. As it was, this gift was frittered away on a block of eight living quarters which ten years later Mr. Stow could see no alternative but to demolish.

The year 1912 saw a generous gift by six Orissa States (Kalahandi Rs. 3,000, Keonjhar Rs. 3,000, Nayagarh Rs. 1,500, Hindol Rs. 1,000, Bonai Rs. 1,000, Rairakhol Rs. 500) of Rs. 10,000 to promote any scheme for the reorganization of the College. The special idea behind this gift was to raise the standard of instruction in the College.

All these gifts and grants swelled the College income considerably and enabled more money to be spent on Staff and equipment. The figures from 1906 are:

| *Year* | *Income* | *Expenditure* |
|---|---|---|
| 1906–7 ... ... | Rs. 30,459 ... ... | Rs. 37,120 |
| 1907–8 ... ... | 33,304 ... ... | 32,348 |
| 1908–9 ... ... | 30,357 ... ... | 33,256 |
| 1909–10 ... ... | 30,607 ... ... | 32,175 |
| 1910–11 ... ... | Figures missing ... | |
| 1911–12 ... ... | 27,679 ... ... | 28,600 |

The drop in income in the last year was caused by loss of rent from the Political Agent for his College house and by the withdrawal of the Eastern Bengal and Assam grant. In 1907–8 income was made up of interest Rs. 3,917, rent Rs. 1,200, fees Rs. 11,508, Government grants Rs. 11,000, miscellaneous Rs. 2,971.

The main heads of expenditure were:

| | |
|---|---|
| Principal ... ... ... | Rs. 11,565 |
| Staff ... ... ... | 11,490 |
| Menials ... ... ... | 1,056 |
| Contingencies ... ... ... | 8,237 |

I fear thatt this section must be very dull to read, but a picture of the College of those days and an understanding of its difficulties are impossible without a knowledge of some of these figures.

Something more must be said of the fees. From 1894 to 1903

a boy paid a monthly fee varying from Rs. 15 to Rs. 50 per month. *This fee did not cover the cost of food, servants or clothing.* The rule was thatt every boy should pay Rs. 50 per month unless he could show thatt he could not afford it. In addition to this fee there was a monthly subscription of about Rs. 18 per boy to cover cost of medicines, games, stationery, and books. The average fee during this period being probably Rs. 40 per month, it followed thatt the average boy actually paid some Rs. 58 per month to the College. This was not cheap, it was as expensive as the fees of today, but worse followed after 1903. From the time when the Central Provinces Government started its annual grants, most Central Provinces boys continued to pay Rs. 40 plus Rs. 18 montly. But the Bengal boys, including those from Orissa and Bihar, had to pay Rs. 70 plus Rs. 18 an excessively high fee in my opinion; one 50% higher than a boy pays in the College today. The earlier part of this section has shown why such high fees had to be asked, but their effect has not yet been mentioned.

For these high fees boys were getting little better than an ordinary middle-school education, from the academic point of view, at the hands of a Staff, which with one or two exceptions was decidedly weak. Much of the accommodation was very unsuited to a boarding school. Few of the products of this training were a credit to the institution. The discipline was known to be lax. There were, in addition, other reasons beyond the control of the authorities, for the unpopularity of the College with parents.

It was not surprising then thatt by 1910 and 1911 complaints became loud. 'For what are our boys paying high fees at Raipur which they cannot get equally well in ordinary schools for low fees?' 'Is the College giving sufficient value for money?' 'Why is the College so expensive?' These and such questions were being asked not only by parents but by Governments. In 1911 the Eastern Bengal and Assam Government stopped its grant. Bengal followed suit in 1912. Not only did income drop but numbers also. The College was in danger of having to close its doors as the Rajkumar School at Jubbulpore had had to, unless very big changes could be promptly made, all involving extra expenditure. Fortunately the Central Provinces Government decided at this crisis thatt they should be made and undertook to shoulder the cost.

The strong prejudice against the College formed in Bengal between 1904 and 1912 has not even yet been forgotten. To the Bengali Zamindar it appeared thatt the College extorted very large sums from boys' estates and gave them an inadequate education in return. For many years after 1912 recruitment from Bengal proper ceased com-

pletely, and the College had many active critics in Orissa and Bihar.

It must be frankly admitted thatt the College in those days had a training to offer which was not worth anything like Rs. 88 per month to anyone. It could not then offer a training as good as the Bengal boys could find in many schools of their own province. It is easy to understand why the College agreed to admit Bengali boys in 1903. Fee-income was too precious to forgo. But it may be thought thatt the right tactics then were to put the temptation on one side and to keep the College as a school for Chhattisgarh and its neighbours only. If a school wants to recruit boys from far afield, it must possess a genuine reputation, or an intrinsic merit which can disarm distant criticism. The long standing Bengal-Orissa antipathy to the College has been the most unfortunate legacy of this tactical error of thirty-five years ago.

**Numbers and the Field of Recruitment**

When the College opened, it had accommodation for thirty boys and apparently it could have held a few more boys at a pinch. The pinch never came. There were 21 boys on the roll by March 1895 and up to 1912 there is only one year in which the numbers are said to have been below twenty. The highest enrolment of the period was 27, and the average number about 23.

Until 1898 all boys came from either the Chhattisgarh States or the Chhattisgarh Division with the exception of one or two from Nagpur. Then the Bengali boys began to arrive. These of course included boys not only from Bengal proper, but from Eastern Bengal and Assam, and Bihar and Orissa. From Eastern Bengal and Assam only six boys in all came, but from Bengal itself there was brisk recruitment for a time. In 1900 out of 27 boys in the College, no less than twelve came from Bengal. Miss Cornelia Sorabji, who in Mr. Stow's time persuaded several mothers in Bihar to send their sons to Raipur, first began sending such boys in 1905. They came from all over the province—the Santal Parganas, Rajshahi, Chota Nagpur, Gaya, Rangpur, Shahabad, and Orissa. But before Orissa separated from Bengal, not very many boys from the Orissa States entered the College. The then Minor Chiefs of Kalahandi, Hindol, Gangpur, Rairakhol and Kharsawan States are five such boys who did come. Several boys, of course, from Orissa States that until 1907 were part of Chhattisgarh came to the College from the date of its opening, but none, I think, from the States east of Sambalpur before about 1906. Recruitment from those States did not grow large till Mr. Stow's time, when Mr. Cobden Ramsay was Political Agent at Sambalpur. In a note

which he wrote on the occasion of his first visit to the College in 1909, he announced his intention of trying to make into a new field of recruitment all those States in the basin of the Mahanadi which since his time have sent so many boys to the College. He worked very hard on behalf of the College and often visited it. The Junior Class Cup still recalls those services and his interest in the College. The College recruited several boys from Orissa through him between 1912 and 1920.

**Routine**

Not much can be said definitely about the way in which boys spent their time during the period of Mr. Oswell's Principalship. I have come across only one timetable of his dated 1904. But he was not a man who liked constant changes and it may be guessed with some confidence thatt the routine of 1904 was very similar to thatt in force before and after that date. Boys rose at 6 a.m. and attended the first of five daily roll-calls at 6:55 a.m. Exercise followed from 7 to 8:30 a.m. This usually consisted of riding, walking, drill or 'deshi kasrat' which Mr. Oswell was very keen to encourage. A display of these indigenous exercises was often given at the annual prize-giving at the end of each Monsoon term. The riding on the other hand seems to have been of a poor standard and was often the subject of unfavourable comment by visitors. The period from 8:30 to 10 a.m. was occupied in bathing and breakfasting. Classes were held from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. with only a short interval from 1:30 to 2 p.m. for light refreshment. Gymnastics or similar physical exercises took place from 4:30 to 5:15 p.m. and games from 5:15 to 6 p.m. Cricket on half-holidays, football, and tennis were the chief games played. I can find no mention of hockey being played at all, which indicates thatt it was not then considered a school game of much importance. Indeed none of these team games were, before Mr. Stow's arrival. It is not difficult to understand why, when it is borne in mind thatt hardly any master played games, thatt there were on the average only 23 boys in the school, four or five of whom were nearly always absent with or without leave, and thatt of those present one-third was probably under 12 and another third over 16. A satisfactory game of football or cricket was impossible under such handicaps. These facts probably explain why Mr. Oswell seems to have paid much more attention to gymnastics, drill, riding, and 'deshi kasrat'. Immediately after games, without apparently any time for a bath or change of clothes, the boys sat down to preparation of homework from 6 to 7 p.m. The homework probably suffered in consequence.

We know thatt the academic standard reached by the boys prior to 1912 was frequently criticized as too low, and this time table seems to reveal some causes. There was too little homework, too long periods of physical exercise, and too much class work unrelieved by intervals of rest. The evening meal was taken between 7 and 8 p.m., the juniors went to bed at 8:30 and the seniors at 9 p.m. There is little mention of any spare-time activities at any time in the week. At one time some boys did carpentry on Sundays, and several references to a billiard table and bagatelle board occur. Mr. Oswell had a magic-lantern with the help of which he gave lectures from time to time. There was a small library of English books, but no mention occurs of the boys ever using it. Gardening and farming were started in 1902 but were very quickly stopped. There were no acting, music, photography, natural history, or other literary and cultural activities. There were several complaints thatt, when boys were not at their books, exercise, or meals, they loafed in their quarters with their servants. It is hard to resist the conclusion thatt in their spare time they did little else. Boys of 16 and over were allowed to smoke; hookahs, 'biris' and 'chit-chat' must have been the boys' favourite occupations during most of their hours of leisure.

**Curriculum**

It was only after many years at the College thatt I realized thatt the College up to 1912, for all its grand name, was really only an Anglo-Vernacular middle-school. That is a very important point to realize, because it is the one which gave the parents, especially of Bengal, their chief cause for dissatisfaction. Eighty-eight rupees a month is a high figure to pay for any sort of education in India. The feelings of the Bengal parent cannot be fully appreciated, however, until it is realized thatt he was asked to pay this fee to a school which never produced any pupil fit to sit for a matriculation examination. In the early days up to 1898, this low standard did not matter much and raised no complaints. Recruitment was until then practically confined to Chhattisgarh, there was no demand for a high standard of academic attainment, and the staff was very small and low-paid. In those days it was frankly an achievement, deserving public advertisement and congratulation, for the College to pass a boy through his middle-school examination; one which corresponded, I gather, to the high-school entrance examination of the present time. In other words, up to 1901, only a few of the best boys reached a standard which would entitle them today to promotion into class IV of the College. Boys who passed even such elementary tests as the upper

primary examination, equivalent today, I suppose, to a middle-school entrance examination, were mentioned with praise in annual reports and at Prizegivings. In fact, this latter was really the main examination of the College, the one which it was hoped thatt every boy would pass. The middle-school examination was only for the very bright boys. The College was in short, a primary school (in which a certain amount of English was taught) with continuation classes of middle-school standard for a selected few.

Mr. Oswell was described by Mr. Munro in 1897 as aiming at the ancient Persian system of education, to teach his boys to ride well, shoot straight, and speak the truth. A school which achieved successfully only those three aims, especially the last, would be a valuable place; but it would be one much more valuable if it achieved a fourth aim also, to train boys to think and work. It is significant thatt Mr. Munro said nothing of the training of the mind. As a matter of fact, there is good evidence in the records thatt the boys did not ride well; they did not learn to shoot at all before 1901; and thatt they all spoke the truth in tight corners would have been an achievement so remarkable thatt, had it been realized, one would expect it to have been recorded every year in letters of gold. There are no letters of any kind on the subject.

I do not however regard Mr. Munro's remark as the mere flattery of a visitor wishing to please. It reveals, I think, the line which Mr. Oswell was forced to follow in those days. Faced with the many and various difficulties which I have already described, he must have felt thatt only a low academic standard was possible. But if he could do only elementary work on their minds, he might be able to do something more substantial for their characters and bodies. The school days of the boys would be of permanent value to them, if they left with a clearer idea of right and wrong, with a new respect for certain virtues even if they did not themselves possess them, with ideas for better living in their homes, with tastes for healthy forms of recreation, and with improved health and manners. The probability thatt no boy would extract all these benefits out of the training did not connote thatt it was useless to endeavour to secure thatt all should gain some of them in however small a degree. A medicine that effected a partial cure was better than none.

The actual subjects taught up to 1901 were English, Hindi, Arithmetic, Geometry, Indian History, Geography and Drawing. The services of a master from the Raipur Normal School were frequently borrowed to teach the latter subject. There is also a reference to the teaching of Science, though it is difficult to understand, seeing thatt

there was no Science Laboratory and but little equipment prior to 1906. Probably there was some theoretical teaching of elementary General Science and some object-lessons as they were then called. Balfour Stewart's *Physical Primer* is mentioned as being used.

There were only four classes up to 1901. Boys who could neither read nor write were placed in class I. Boys in classes II and III took the upper primary school examination. At the end of the class IV course selected boys were sent in for the middle-school, and the Bombay School of Art, examinations.

Such was the state of affairs up to 1902. In that year considerable changes were introduced at the instance of Sir Andrew Fraser and a special committee which he had formed. A summary of these reforms follows.

The Indian masters were to be increased from 3 to 7, the senior of whom was to be paid the then high salary of Rs. 250 per month. The College was to apply to be recognized by Allahabad University as teaching up to the matriculation standard, and high-school classes were to be opened at the College. A higher academic standard all-round was to be achieved. Certain special subjects, useful to the sons of Rulers and Zamindars, were to be taught: practical agriculture and horticulture, surveying, reading of village maps, patwari papers and revenue accounts. To enable this to be done, a master was to be sent to Nagpur for a year's training in agriculture and the work of a patwari. A cadet corps was to be started to instil a martial spirit and discipline into the boys who were also to be given instruction in musketry. The College was to be inspected annually by an officer of the Central Provinces Education Department. Parents and guardians were to be asked their views about the construction of a common dining-hall which was to be built if the majority of replies was favourable. Much more attention was to be paid to vernacular teaching, not only of Hindi but of Oriya and perhaps Bengali as well. Allahabad University was to be asked to recognize Oriya as one of the vernacular languages that could be studied for its matriculation examination; and one of the new masters to be recruited was to be qualified to teach Oriya. All this having been done, a serious attempt was to be made to attract boys from Orissa and Chota Nagpur. If numbers rose in consequence above thirty, the College was to provide extra accommodation. The Civil Surgeon, Raipur, was to become the Medical Officer of the College assisted by a resident compounder. To make these reforms possible the Central Provinces Government would make an annual grant of Rs. 8,000 and occasional non-recurring grants for building purposes. If boys joined from Bengal, that Government would be invited to make an annual grant also.

At the same time as steps were being taken to carry out these reforms, the then Maharaja of Patna State suggested some reforms also designed to make the instruction of a more practical nature. He advocated the teaching of elementary criminal law and procedure, agriculture and surveying, the maintenance of land records and the management of an office. His proposals were considered at the same time as those of Sir Andrew Fraser.

On the whole, the outcome of these important and extensive plans was disappointing. An increase of the Indian Staff, an annual inspection, the entry of Oriya boys, the introduction of instruction in Oriya, and medical supervision by the Civil Surgeon, were permanent gains. The Government grant lasted till 1923. But the other recommendations came to nothing. Though recognized in 1902 as teaching up to matriculation standard, no boy actually sat for an examination of that standard till 1920. A farm was started and instruction in surveying and patwari work commenced. Mr. C. S. Misra received a year's agricultural training in Nagpur 1902–03. But he left the College service in 1905, no qualified master ever took his place, the first College farm went out of cultivation, and surveying and revenue work ceased to be taught. The Government of India discouraged any form of military training and declined to supply rifles of any pattern. Nothing came, therefore, of the idea of a cadet corps except some miniature-range shooting with ·22 rifles. Nothing came either of the proposal to build a common dining-hall. All opposition, both parental and financial, was overcome; but, unfortunately, a decision was reached to spend the money on other purposes. This has been referred to previously on page 26.

Two causes of the failure to raise the instruction up to matriculation standard were these. The energies of the newly increased staff tended to be dissipated by trying to do two things at once with too few boys. The scheme to teach agriculture, administration, surveying, and revenue work, had something to recommend it; but they were not subjects for the matriculation examination. If a boy devoted sufficient time to them, he lacked time for his matriculation subjects. If he concentrated on the latter, he was charged with neglect of subjects particularly useful to a young man of his status and which the Chief Commissioner was specially anxious for him to learn. There were not enough boys to justify some of them following one course, others another.

In 1903 Mr. Hewett, the then Chief Commissioner, apparently realizing this difficulty, decided against preparation for the Allahabad matriculation. There were to be eventually eight classes, but the College was to have its own syllabuses and to teach those special subjects

most useful to its pupils. A boy whose record at the College had been satisfactory throughout was to be presented on leaving with an illuminated Certificate, costing Rs. 20–8–0 each, signed by the Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division and the Principal. Whatever the merits of this decision, there is no doubt thatt one effect was to deprive staff and boys of a much needed stimulus towards higher academical attainment. Other instructions issued by Mr. Hewett were to build a common dining-hall; to limit private servants more strictly; to admit no boy under ten years of age; to have two examinations annually, conducted by the Education Department; and to institute daily religious instruction, using a syllabus and manual in four languages prepared by the then Raja of Bamra State. The teaching of drawing which had been abandoned in 1901 was to be resumed, with the part-time assistance of a master from the Raipur High-School.

To qualify for the College Certificate a boy, up to the age of 16 or 17, had to study English, his Mother-Tongue, Mathematics, History, Geography, Drawing and Elementary Science. During his last two years at the College he had to study Political Economy, Revenue Law, Jurisprudence, Mensuration and Surveying, and Agricultural Science. This work in his last two years was to be compulsory for every Minor Chief and Zamindar. I regret to have to say, however, thatt I have discovered no record thatt any boy did complete between 1904 and 1912 a full course of this kind, though that fact does not prove thatt none did. The only references to the special subjects that I have seen are two. One is a complaint thatt boys of 15 and 16, in order to avoid struggling further with Mathematics, were studying or seeking to study Law and Administration instead. That is a ruse which many boys since then have endeavoured to employ. The other is a confession of inability to get agriculture, surveying, and revenue law, taught at all after Mr. Misra's departure in 1905.

Yet a fair number of illuminated certificates were given away and the suspicion is inevitable thatt many of them were too easily won.

Another attempt was made to change the curriculum in 1904. The College sought permission from the Government of India to enter boys for the Chiefs' Colleges Diploma Examination. The Governing Body offered to remodel the curriculum, syllabuses and Staff so as to copy faithfully those at the four Chiefs' Colleges at Lahore, Ajmer, Indore, and Rajkot. This was, in fact, the first bid of the College for recognition as a Chiefs' College. At that time there was a plan afoot either to open a Higher Chiefs' College at Delhi offering degree courses, or to institute post-diploma classes at Ajmer. The Governing Body of the College was anxious to procure such recognition of the

academical standard of the highest class of the College thatt boys passing from it would be eligible for admission at Delhi or Ajmer. When the Governing Body was informed thatt the boys of the College were considered ineligible for admission to any institution intended exclusively for pupils of Chiefs' Colleges or to obtain diplomas from the Government of India, an attempt was made to obtain recognition of the final examination of the College by both Allahabad and Calcutta Universities as equivalent to their matriculation examination, and acceptance of the College Certificate as one entitling a holder to admission to these Universities. The new course which the College submitted to these Universities for approval included English, a Vernacular, Arithmetic, History, Geography and Elementary Science as compulsory subjects; Agriculture instead of a Classical Language; and Land Revenue, the Principles of Hindu and Muhammadan Law, and Elementary Jurisprudence, instead of Algebra and Geometry. The final examination in these subjects was to be conducted on behalf of the Universities by the Director of Public Instruction, Central Provinces. A suitably qualified English assistant master and an agricultural expert would be recruited, if the Universities recognized this special course.

There is no record of any reply coming from Calcutta University, but Allahabad University, in 1909 after a long delay, at last agreed to recognize the College final examination as of matriculation standard under certain conditions. It is an illustration of the difficulty facing anyone engaged on the story of the College at this time, thatt there appears to be no record left of what those conditions were. It can only be guessed thatt the University insisted on Algebra and Geometry and rejected Agriculture as subjects of study.

The above account shows, I hope, thatt from 1901 to 1909 the Governing Body introduced many reforms and devised several plans to raise the College to the standard of a high-school. It cannot be charged with unambitious acquiescence in its remaining a middle-school. Yet little better than a middle-school it nevertheless continued to remain. Schemes were drafted and discussed at length, sub-committees were formed, special inspections were held, the Government of India and the Central Provinces Government were addressed, grants were made; but none of all these paper-activities bore fruit. The best boy in the College in the period 1909–1912 would probably have been fit only for class III of the College today.

It is hard to understand what the chief cause of this failure was. I say the chief cause, because there were obviously more causes than one. I am sure thatt all the difficulties in the way of educating the

boys at the College, which have been mentioned in previous pages and which by 1905 had become chronic, were one big cause. But my impression is thatt the chief one was the lack of a suitable Principal between 1907 and 1912. In 1907 Mr. Oswell, already a tired man, took leave preparatory to retirement. Mr. French had been officiating for only a year when he met with an accident which kept him away from duty for nearly a whole term. He had been back at work little over a month when he met his death in another accident. Mr. Banerjei then held charge for two months, till Mr. Oswell returned. The facts that his doctor permitted him to stay only six months, and thatt he died soon after returning to England, are strong proofs thatt Mr. Oswell was no longer capable of the effort required to infuse new life into the academical work of the school which he had done so much to develop. Then for three years came the turn of Mr. Carey, during which period a detailed scheme for the reorganization of the College was hammered out. But when it only remained for the Chief Commissioner to select a man to carry out this scheme, he did not select Mr. Carey, although he had then had three years of experience at the College and was ready to continue to serve. This fact indicates thatt his appointment was not considered very fortunate for the College. Not much can be expected of any school left for seven years without a Principal physically fit, qualified, and experienced, and so I attribute the disappointments of this period mainly to the absence of such a man in control.

By 1912 the scheme of reorganization was ready; the need for reform had become very apparent; Bengal was protesting by ceasing to make further grants; the Central Provinces Government had decided to put more money into the College rather than allow it to close. The one great need was the selection of the right man to take charge. In a happy hour Sir Benjamin Robertson, the new Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, decided to invite a young man with experience of a recognized Chiefs' College, an athlete as well as a scholar. The Government of India was asked to depute on foreign service Mr. V. A. S. Stow, M.A., I.E.S., Assistant Master of the Daly College, Indore. The Government of India agreed, Mr. Stow consented, the Central Provinces Government undertook to pay the whole of his salary, and on August 23rd 1912 he commenced his duties at Raipur.

CHAPTER TWO

# THE RECENT PAST: 1912–1931

## A Survey

Mr. Stow was Principal of the College for 19 years (1912–1931), but his tenure of office was in fact divided into two parts by the years 1922–24, which saw great changes made in the management and financial position of the College. This chapter surveys the two parts separately.

Mr. Stow had had a very distinguished academical career. He had secured scholarships at Winchester College and Exeter College, Oxford; first-class honours in Classical Moderations; and second-class ones in Classical 'Greats.' He had also proved himself an excellent athlete, excelling at cricket, soccer, and tennis, and coming near to getting a cricket 'Blue' at Oxford. From there he had gone as an assistant master to Marlborough College in 1906 for a couple of terms; and thence to the Daly College, Indore, as a member of the Indian Educational Service, where for five years under Mr. Hyde he had been trained for work in a Chiefs' College. It was a natural consequence thatt, for many years after he came to Raipur, the College was organized very much on Daly College lines. Shortly after his arrival, Mr. Stow married Eleanor Morier and brought to the College a wife of great charm. A school like the College has great need of a gifted hostess, and in this role Mrs. Stow rendered most valuable service to the College throughout her husband's Principalship.

## 1912–23

Mr. Stow did not find anything very attractive to take charge of. He has himself confessed thatt, after his first sight of the College, he wondered how soon he could get back to Indore! Many of the buildings were unsuitable, the grounds small, the numbers still smaller, the academical standard low; and the staff were poorly paid and most of them poorly qualified. Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, three provinces which had been sending boys to the College, were all very doubtful whether their continuing to support it was worth while.

If the College was to survive, there was need for a big scheme of immediate reorganisation and development, which, however, would inevitably cost a large sum of money coming from no one knew where. It was a depressing situation, the nadir of the fortunes of the College.

Mr. V. A. S. Stow, M.A., C.I.E., V.D. I.E.S.
Principal 1912–1931

Thatt the situation was faced, thatt the College rose rapidly from these depths, and thatt improvements of every kind were made within the next decade, were due;—firstly, to the great and sustained support of the Government of the Central Provinces; secondly, to the munificent donation of five lakhs of rupees from Nandgaon State; but also in great part to the labours, ability, and energy, of Mr. Stow. After Mr. Stow had left and become the Principal of the Mayo College, Ajmer, he was made a Companion of the Indian Empire. This honour was conferred in recognition of his services to both Colleges.

The facts and figures of what was done during these years will be recorded in the next chapter, but a general survey may help the reader before he comes to details.

The grounds were enlarged to the size now enclosed by a wire fence; they were planted with many trees; and many of the roads now in use were constructed. In short, for the first time the grounds began to take on their present-day appearance.

A very big building scheme was carried out, accompanied by the demolition of several of the old unsuitable buildings. The construction of the Rajendra Das and Balram Das boarding houses, and the conversion of the central block into class-rooms and rooms used for other academical purposes were the main items of the scheme; but the Principal's house, many masters' houses, the servants' quarters, kitchens, and stables, had also been built by 1918. As with the grounds, so with the buildings; the construction plan of 1914–18 for the first time made the College buildings of those days recognisable as those of today. The old Principal's house facing the central block was one of the houses then demolished. The foundations of many of them can still be traced in various places round the present main buildings. The construction of the Guest House and Temple came at the end of Mr. Stow's time in 1927 and 1929 respectively.

Very energetic steps were taken to raise numbers; so successful thatt numbers, which had been under 30 in 1912, were well over 60 by the beginning of 1921. Though recruitment from Bengal did not revive during this period, a number of boys came from Orissa and Bihar; by far the most, however, came from States and Zamindaries of the Central Provinces. The fact thatt a large proportion of these new-comers were Court of Wards boys is one about which more will be said later.

The pre-1912 staff all disappeared within a few years of Mr. Stow's arrival except for Babu Paras Ram, who continued as Head Clerk till 1932. The departure of none of them, except Mr. Banerjei, seems to have been regretted. Mr. Stow was bent on recruiting a

much better qualified staff than the College had up to then employed; and some among his early recruits, Rao Sahib S. R. Pinge (1913–37), Mr. G. G. Kanetkar (1913–35), Mr. Abdus Shakur (1914–32), Mr. Razdan (1914–28), Khan Muhammed Khan (1915–24), Doctor Kaluram Thakur (1920–33), were destined to serve the College for many years. I myself joined on February 3rd 1921 as first Vice-Principal and English assistant. Mr. Stow made a point of recruiting masters with not only good academical but also athletic qualifications; so thatt, especially durnig the first half of his Principalship, the staff with some help from the boys could put a formidable team on the field to play any game.

This plan of strengthening the staff was an essential preliminary to another of Mr. Stow's plans. He wanted to raise the academical standard so thatt boys could creditably pass the Diploma Examination; and to make use of that achievement and the improvements in staff, buildings, and grounds, to induce the Government of India to recognize the College as a Chiefs' College. The whole of this plan was very successfully accomplished and will be described in the next chapter.

Finally, Mr. Stow during his first years set himself in a great number of ways to establish a daily routine similar to that which he had been used to at the Daly College; to organize a programme of compulsory games and physical training; to improve the domestic economy and secure better control over boys' private servants; to smarten boys up and put them all into uniforms; to organize the two new boarding houses and develop a competitive spirit in them; and, generally, to do all those various things that promote a healthy communal life in a school and encourage good tone and discipline. He undoubtedly did much to attain these objects, but they were not ones that any one would have been able fully to attain in two decades. A good tone and a healthy communal spirit must take many years to mature. Fine grounds and buildings, qualified masters, and examination successes, catch the eye of the visitor much more easily and are comparatively quickly obtained, given the funds and a good Head. The unseen moral strength of a school is of slow and, at first, uncertain growth; and cannot be bought with money. Mr. Stow, as it were, prepared the soil and planted. He must have known thatt the harvest of good morale would be for others to reap after many unforgiving years.

### 1923–31

In writing of the second half of Mr. Stow's Principalship, I have the advantage of writing about a period during which I myself was a

witness of events. The outstanding event of the period was financial; the decision of the Governments of the Central Provinces, Bihar, and Orissa under pressure from their Legislative Councils, to stop their annual grants of Rs. 36,000 after the end of the financial year 1923–24. At the same time the Government of India refused to make any grant to the College. The College was given a period of little over two years in which either to make itself self-supporting or to go bankrupt. In this emergency, Sir Frank Sly, then Governor of the Central Provinces, issued an appeal for an endowment fund; and right nobly did the Rulers and Zamindars of the Central Provinces and some Rulers of Orissa respond to it, as the figures given in the next chapter will show. Let it suffice to record here thatt the College can claim to have been the only really independent school in India from 1923 to1931, living solely on its income from endowments and fees. This great change in its financial position naturally led, as time went on, to a change in its management. The new piper was entitled to call the tune; and the control of College policy gradually passed from official hands into those of the Rulers of States in the Central Provinces and Orissa, whose generosity had saved the College. If the success of this great financial achievement is omitted, the last seven or eight years of Mr. Stow's Principalship may seem to have been very much less successful than his earlier years. Numbers dropped back from 65 or 67 in 1921 to only 42 in 1931, when Mr. Stow left to become Principal of the Mayo College, Ajmer. A good many boys who had entered the College between 1912 and 1920 failed to show, after they left, thatt they had profited very much from their education. Their records provided ammunition for attacks on the College in the local Press, especially of Orissa. A most severe epidemic of measles in 1921, from which one young Ruler of an Orissa State died, gave an excuse—though a very unfair one—for more Press criticism. There were some disciplinary troubles with older boys, who were for a time inclined to be insubordinate. There was reason to suspect—though nothing was ever proved—thatt some members of the staff and private tutors of boys were at this time putting what they conceived to be their private interests before the interest of, and the loyalty that they owed to, the College. On the other hand, it seems to me, and it is relevant to state my opinion in this context, thatt the staff of those days was not given enough responsibility, was housed beneath its self-respect, and, though paid much better than the staff of any secondary day-school, was not offered conditions of service sufficiently good to attract men who could confidently be relied on to put their duties before their popularity and self-interest. Whether that opinion is right or wrong, the staff certainly never failed to teach efficiently, as the annual inspection reports

and the results of the annual Diploma Examination show. From 1920 to 1926 inclusive, a Raipur boy stood first on the list in order of merit every year; except in 1921 when the College entered no candidate; indeed, in 1926 it was a case of Raipur first and the rest nowhere, as the first four boys on the list all came from the College and obtained the only first classes given. It may be thatt at that period the academical competition from the other four Chiefs' Colleges was weaker than it should have been; it is incontestable thatt there was no weakness of instruction in the Raipur class-rooms.

What has been said justifies the assertion thatt in the 1923–31 period the College retrogressed rather than progressed. Where was the fault?

If it is considered an axiom thatt the Principal must take responsibility for everything, the answer must be thatt it was the fault of Mr. Stow; but that would be a very superficial and inadequate answer. The causes of the temporary setback seem to have been these: a too rapid expansion during the 1912–20 period; the recruitment of many unsuitable boys; the absence of sufficient Old Boys supporting the College and responsible for its management; inadequate conditions of staff-service; lack of parental co-operation; and, above all, the existence of certain characteristics that are both anti-educational and hostile to the growth of healthy communal life. Some of these causes were beyond the control of the College; good reasons can be found explaining why the College handled many of the other causes, more or less within its control, as it did; though, of course, it can be shown also thatt it, like everyone else, was capable of making mistakes. The subject is perhaps worth a full discussion, as it may help to reveal clearly the real difficulties of this period of College history.

The College had expanded too rapidly. The numbers had increased by about 150% in eight years. Since the average boy's life at the College is about eight years, that increase was an overlarge meal for a school to digest. It would soon begin to suffer from having too few 'digested' pupils and too many 'undigested'. It may be held thatt the College should have expanded more slowly; on the other hand, no one can run a successful residential school, with an age range from 8 to 20, with less than 60 boys. Even that number is much too small. In 1912, the College was 'starving'. It could not pick and choose, it had to act quickly, it had to increase its income from fees, it was not popular. In such circumstances a Principal cannot fairly be blamed for recruiting any boys he can get.

Too many unsuitable boys were recruited. That is true, but Mr. Stow in his early years could not have had the experience of

RAJA BAHADUR JAWAHIR SINGH, C.I.E.
Late Ruler of Sarangarh State

recruitment possessed by the College today. It has taken years of bitter experience to learn thatt there are very few boys of over 12 whom it pays to admit; thatt a boy sent voluntarily by his parents is worth three sent by an official guardian; thatt the son of ill-educated parents living in an out-of-the-way place is unlikely to get much permanent benefit from the College education, unless he has great ability; thatt a boy who cannot be admitted into a class suitable to his age is likely to be more trouble than he is worth. The College may have repented later thatt it had admitted several boys; but it would have needed superhuman foresight, patience, and strength of mind, to have refused their admission at a time when its primary need was more boys. It is much more open to fair criticism on the ground thatt it kept boys too long. It was not at all rare, between 1912 and 1922, to find married young men of over 20, never likely to reach matriculation standard, with their names still on the College roll. They were bound to be a focus of unrest and discontent, and to depress standards.

Thirdly, there were not enough Old Boys responsible for the management of the College and taking a keen interest in it. This criticism is true and goes far to explain the temporary weakness of the College, but it cannot be levelled at the then Principal. During his last eight years a good deal was done to meet this criticism. Until 1923, the Government of the Central Provinces was the chief financial supporter. It is true that Nandgaon State had given five lakhs in 1914, but that was a non-recurring donation and the Mahant of Nandgaon was a minor until 1926. It was natural, therefore, thatt the control of the College rested in the hands of officials; and thatt the Rulers, Zamindars, and Old Boys, lacking responsibility, also lacked interest. It is doubtful also whether, prior to about 1926, it would have been possible to find a sufficient number of Rulers and Old Boys capable of managing the College. Out of all the Old Boys of the 1894–1920 period, only four, the late Raja Bahadur Jawahir Singh of Sarangarh, Raja Bahadur Leeladhar Singh of Sakti, Raja Sree Ram Chandra Deo of Kharaswan, and the late Raja Lal Bahadur Singh of Khairagarh took a keen interest in its management. The latter died in 1918, a great loss to his State, the College and his friends, the Raja Bahadur of Sarangarh only whilst this book was being printed. The education the boys got at the College prior to Mr. Stow's arrival did not apparently produce men capable of much in the way of public affairs. Mr. Stow had, therefore, two very convincing answers to the question why he did not do more to devolve responsibility on to Rulers, parents, and Old Boys. Firstly, there seemed to be only four candidates willing to take an interest, and these were encouraged to take a very great one; secondly, the local

Government, while it was spending over Rs. 30,000 a year on the College, was unwilling to surrender control to anyone else. Since 1925 there has been a steady increase of control by Rulers and Old Boys, and a corresponding decrease of official control. For instance, since 1926, the Chairman of the Managing Committee has always been a Ruler and not an official.

Then there is the charge thatt the conditions of service of the staff were not good enough to attract the type of master without whom a residential school will not function successfully. It is easy to be wise after an event; to see today thatt the conditions of service during this period would be bound to lead to trouble with the staff. It was not at all easy to see that fact before, at the earliest, 1920. There was money to spend during the 1912–20 period, but a great deal to spend. it on. The building programme consumed much of it. The endowment fund had to be enlarged. What remained was put into improvement of staff salaries. The new salaries paid after 1912 were much better than those paid before; and throughout Mr. Stow's time were better than his masters could obtain in any other Indian secondary school, except perhaps in the other Chiefs' Colleges, whose terms were comparable. Mr. Stow certainly cannot be charged with having done nothing to help his staff; the most that can be said is thatt the College might have prospered better, if it had spent less to begin with on other buildings and more on staff-housing and better conditions of service of all kinds. For instance, the staff at no time during his period had any contracts of service or staff rules, and what increments they got were small and had to be fought for. They lived in considerable apprehension and suspense. Mr. Stow was a firm believer in centralization of authority, a belief that he had probably inherited from that famous school-autocrat, Mr. Hyde of the Daly College. He did not feel the need to employ masters of a better type, who would have wanted better conditions, because he expected all his staff to act on his instructions and did not require men ready to act on their own, try out new ideas, and shoulder responsibility. Those who believe in decentralization in a residential school will not agree with Mr. Stow on this point, but, after all, it is a matter of opinion. Mr. Stow had so dominant a personality and was so energetic and enthusiastic thatt he himself was certainly seldom in doubt thatt centralization paid best.

Thatt the College got little support from the parents of the boys whom it was trying to educate is very true indeed; but it was a weakness which the College was at first quite unable to, and which only many years of effort could, remove. It has not been removed today and never entirely can be, until the mothers and sisters of boys in the

College have had the same quality, though not necessarily the same kind, of education as their husbands, brothers, and sons. Reference to this weakness raises the fundamental question of the influences of home and school in the education of a child. It is my opinion thatt there can be no satisfactory education, unless home and school work together. This opinion does not mean only thatt the home should co-operate with the school in external matters, such as obedience to school rules. Much more important is it thatt both home and school have the same object, proclaim the same values, and use the same methods. So long as the objects, values, and methods, are different, no school, however well organized and found, can strikingly succeed. If this opinion is correct, it is easy to understand why so many products of the College of this time were disappointments.

The main object of the College was—and still is—to turn those boys who were heirs to property into gentlemen in the best sense of that word, well enough educated competently and conscientiously to manage their property and to play a useful part in public life; and to induce those boys who were not heirs to property to seek careers of their own for which they had qualified themselves. The College set more value on development of character than of mind and body, though it valued both the latter highly; and its chief method was the living of a very active, highly regulated, communal, life of hard work and hard play modelled on that led at an English public school. Though the College through its mistakes may at times have seemed to waver from this object and forget these values, nevertheless these were the object and values for which it always stood.

It is not at all easy to say what was the chief object of the average parent of a boy who came to the College in Mr. Stow's time. Quite a number of them had the prime object of getting their sons out of it as soon as possible, having sent them very unwillingly under official pressure. It can be added, without exaggeration or injustice, thatt no parent of that period had any ambition to see his or her son qualify himself in order to take up an independent career. The great majority of minor Rulers and Zamindars were fatherless, and the general attitude of their mothers was thatt, when their sons came of age, they were entitled to enjoy themselves, leaving the business of administration to their Diwans and other officers. Some parents patronized the College for its 'snob-value,' on account of its exclusiveness, so as to maintain or enhance their social prestige; others may have felt thatt education in it might lead to satisfactory marriages and useful friendships. Many hoped for examination success, not because that might help to obtain

good careers for their sons, but because success itself would be sweet and increase family pride. Others, but many fewer, hoped in the same way for athletic success. It is not possible to be more definite than this, but it is possible, unfortunately, to be quite definite in saying thatt the object of home and College at this period was disastrously different.

So inevitably were the values. It is true thatt both home and College valued examination-success; but most homes thought thatt that was the only valuable thing which their sons might obtain at the College, whereas the College thought thatt it was only one of several. The College valued also discipline, health, physical education and games, spare-time activities of cultural value, the formation of good personal habits, tidiness, cleanliness, punctuality, and the social graces; and it started in 1921 a Boy Scout troop which was designed to develop the chief social virtues. Though, naturally, no parent ever came forward at this or any other time to say thatt he did not want his son to take any interest in 'these frills' (except parents asking for their sons to be excused from games and Boy Scout camps), yet it was very obvious to the College staff thatt this out-of-class education was not really valued; it was only tolerated. A staff forms opinions of this kind from its observation of how boys spend their vacations. None that served on the College staff during Mr. Stow's time would deny thatt the majority of boys returning after each vacation, many very unpunctually, had noticeably deteriorated from the educational point of view of the College. In other words, its values were not being confirmed and supplemented by the teaching of those boys' homes. Boys heard two voices saying different things.

The fundamental conflict over methods, not often brought to the surface, was provoked by fear in boys' homes thatt the College would exercise a denationalizing influence, changing young Indians into imitation Englishmen and encouraging them to despise the beliefs, customs, and way of life, of their homes. This was a very natural fear, and it has proved extremely hard for the College to do what it believed best for its boys without giving legitimate cause to their parents to complain. It is by no means certain thatt the College has always succeeded in keeping its educational atmosphere sufficiently Indian. Another conflict over method has persisted with regard to the desirability of housing boys of different ages together in hostels or boarding-houses. It is better to state the problem frankly. Many parents have feared thatt, if their sons lived in a boarding house, they would yield to sexual temptation and permanently contract bad moral habits. This fear has produced the frequent requests thatt a boy might live in a master's house, be accompanied by a private tutor, and have his private

servants or a separate establishment. Many parents, faced with this most perplexing problem, have sincerely believed thatt if a boy can be, as it were, insulated from temptation till his school days are over, he is much less likely to contract bad habits afterwards. The College, equally sincerely, has always held a contrary belief thatt there is good and bad in the world everywhere, in every school, in every home, in every place and society. Sooner or later a boy or young man has got to fight temptation. A young man who has been sheltered throughout his youth will be specially vulnerable to temptation when it comes, because the very care with which he has been protected as a boy has prevented his building up for himself any defence against evil. Moreover, it has been the bitter experience of the College thatt several of the people selected by parents to protect their sons, such as private tutors and servants, were very unsuited to their task and did not deserve the confidence placed in them. On the contrary, so the College has always held, the right way to arm a boy against these temptations is to place him in a boarding-house with other boys, with full knowledge thatt he will meet with some temptations there; and to rely on his housemaster, the rest of the staff, and the boy-leaders to teach him, it may even be by trial and error, how to meet and resist these temptations. Even if a boy gives way to temptation, it is safer, the College has believed, for his first lapses to occur at school (where they will soon be found out and corrected at a time of life when his character is still malleable) than in the world outside where temptations are more numerous and dangerous, where detection at the start is much less likely, and at a time of life when he will respond much less easily to correction.

The above is intended as an objective statement of the problem, not as an advocacy of one or the other point of view. The relevancy of its inclusion in this context lies in the fact thatt many homes have hesitated to support the College, because their solution of this problem and that of the College differ in method.

Mr. Stow, of course, neither was responsible for creating the problem nor can be blamed for opening the boarding-houses that many parents took objection to. He was asked to organize the College on English public-school lines, and boarding houses are an essential part of every residential school in England. It may, however, be fairly contended thatt it was unwise to have organized them as he did. During the first half of his Principalship there were two houses, in each of which boys of all ages from 8 to over 20 were to be found. His purpose was to have two houses of equal athletic strength, which could compete against each other at games. Most educationists, however, would condemn an organization that required boys of all ages to live together; nor does the

one that Mr. Stow chose seem to have been necessary for his purpose. Though the boys of the College are today placed in one of three boarding-houses, strictly according to age, they are also placed in Sets which compete keenly against each other on level terms. There is no need for all boys in a Set to use the same bedrooms.

Whether the College was wise in allowing many boys the concessions of private housing, tutors, messing, and servants, is a question discussed a little later on. Before doing so, it seems desirable to consider whether the College gave its boys' parents real cause to fear thatt its influence was denationalizing. The first answer can be given confidently. The College never had the slightest desire or intention to denationalize its boys. If in fact it did so influence them, it did so unintentionally. Secondly, the parents had no right both to have their cake and to eat it. Which did they want more, a school run on English public-school lines or one that made its boys proud to be Indians? If the latter, an Indian, not an Englishman, would have made a better Principal: if the former, then an Englishman—in 1912 inevitably an Englishman. Mr. Stow was recruited to reorganize a school on public-school lines, and he undoubtedly did the work for which he was recruited to the best of his ability, though he might have done more than he did to disarm this kind of criticism and to avoid hurting Indian susceptibilities. Lastly, it may be said in defence of the College, as it were, thatt problems had to be taken in their order of priority. The College had to be rebuilt, numbers and academical standard raised, a new staff recruited, and so on. These inevitably occupied its attention fully to begin with, and the fear of denationalization was no fear at all during the first decade of Mr. Stow's Principalship. When this fear raised its head in the 1920's, perhaps the College did not give it enough attention. Though never guilty of a deliberate attempt to anglicize its boys, it might perhaps have done more in a positive way to encourage everything Indian that had cultural value such as Indian literature and music. So much seems to be the maximum of criticism that can be levelled at it on this point, without exaggeration and unfairness.

This chapter is mainly occupied with a discussion why the College during the 1920–30 period met with difficulties, criticism, and opposition, and appeared to be going back rather than forward. A place must, therefore, be found in it for consideration why certain things were allowed to go on in the College that every modern educationist would condemn as unsound.

The College was exclusive, as only the sons of a small aristocratic class were admitted; yet educationists condemn such class-segregation. Many boys received special treatment at extra expense; such as residence

in masters' houses, and private tuition by either members of the staff or their own tutors. Some boys were allowed to furnish their own rooms. All boys had their own private servants and kitchens. All these concessions were destructive of a healthy communal life, encouraged favouritism and ill-feeling, and immensely weakened discipline. The College in those days, for instance, was full of people to whom it was more important thatt they pleased particular boys than thatt they pleased the Principal. All kinds of uncheckable irregularities could—and did—go on in the kitchens, which were smoky, most unhygienic, places for boys to eat their food in. These peculiar characteristics of the College were bound to spoil the quality of its education, so it may well be asked why the College tolerated them. There is much to say in answer to this question.

First of all, there was no demand whatsoever from Management, parents, staff, or boys, thatt any of these defects should be remedied. On the contrary, any attempt at reform would have met with wide and strong opposition. Only the annual inspectors from 1922 onwards suggested reform. The educated, middle-class, Indians who had become deeply suspicious and critical of all the Chiefs' Colleges mainly because of these defects, were debarred under the then rules from seeking admission for their sons, even if they had wanted to.

Secondly, two of the main tasks of this period were to raise numbers and to get the College recognized as a Chiefs' College. The latter project was particularly dear to those few Rulers who were then actively supporting the College. Recognition would have been impossible to secure, if the rules of admission at Raipur had been more lax than those at the other Colleges. As it was, recognition was at last secured only reluctantly and after long hesitation. Similarly, it would have been impossible to raise numbers, at any time before about 1926 at the earliest, if it had been made a condition of admission thatt a boy had to come without private servants and join a common mess. Mr. Stow was never a champion of private establishments but a realist, who knew thatt the time for their abolition had not ripened until his own time was almost over. Then he did take the first steps towards the opening of a mess. The question, therefore, whether Mr. Stow himself preferred a school confined to aristocratic boys and had no personal desire to open its doors to other classes, need not be discussed. In my opinion, he was bound to act as he did with regard to the rules of admission and the continuance of private establishments. But it is debatable whether the College can be so completely acquitted for having allowed special housing for special boys; and it seems clearly to have been a bad mistake to have allowed members of the staff and

private tutors to work with boys during their hours of homework. In defence, it can be argued thatt the boy who was sent to the College on condition thatt he lived with the Principal or Vice-Principal or with his own tutor in a house of his own was always an important boy, in the sense thatt he usually had an important role to play when he grew up, was a member of an influential family, and came from an important State. The College naturally did not wish to disappoint such families and States. On three occasions States paid the cost of additions to the College buildings, which were a permanent asset to it, so thatt their boys could temporarily live in the new rooms; and in one case a stipulation thatt the boy being sent must live with the Principal or Vice-Principal was made at the same time as the offer of a very large donation. It is hard for a school at any time to reject such assistance and to turn away such boys: it was doubly hard for the College at a time when it was seeking to raise numbers and improve its finances. Whether it could also prove a claim thatt on the whole, the boys who were specially housed gained considerably from that experience is a question on which opinion is bound to be divided; and it does not seem that I can give an objective answer as I myself, first as Vice-Principal then as Principal, had boys living in my house for over twenty years. However, I can say out of this experience thatt certain boys at certain times in their school-lives undoubtedly do benefit from a period of residence in a private house managed by the right type of woman; and thatt a rigid rule thatt no boy in any circumstances shall live outside a boarding house, even for a term or two, would be a mistake. There are, on the other hand, strong objections to the practice of letting a boy stay for the whole of his school-life in a master's house. His life there is relatively a pampered, sheltered, one; he can take little part in the communal life; he misses that very valuable education which boy gives to boy; when he reaches the top of the school his isolation prevents his getting the valuable experience of a set-leader or prefect; he is tempted to become snobbish and to think of himself as a superior being above the common herd. There was always some envy of 'bungalow boys' and friction between them and boys in the boarding houses; and there were always parents dissatisfied because there was no room for their sons in a bungalow. In short, the system was inclined to breed discontent. But its worst feature was thatt it made the Principal and Vice-Principal benefit financially from a system which, to say the least, was of dubious value from the educational point of view. Once started, it was a system very hard indeed to stop, quite apart from the Principal's private interest in continuing it. He should never, however compelling the

reason, be put in such a position. Clearly though the difficulties of the College can be seen, it would have been wiser if from the start it had allowed no housing concessions of any kind (they did not begin until 1920), defending itself by saying thatt it had set out to model the College on English public-school lines and thatt no English residential school permitted such arrangements. If no boy had been favoured, few would have been the requests for this privilege.

The practice of allowing members of the staff and private tutors during the hours of home-work to sit with those boys who could pay them for their help, was unwise from many points of view and little can honestly be said in favour of it. A boy sometimes needs special coaching, and it is legitimate for a school to provide it so long as the coaching is done in a boy's spare time and the work done earns no class-marks. Sometimes also a boy needs a master's help during hours of home-work, and it is legitimate for a member of the staff to supervise the home-work of a large number of boys not only to maintain discipline but also to give this help, so far as he has time, to any boy who asks for it. But the system up to 1931 was very different. Nearly every member of the staff sat with one or two boys during their hours of home-work, to whom exclusively he devoted his attention; and every boy who had a private tutor (there were often eight or nine of them) had him by his side. The home-work these boys were set to do earned class-marks, with the result thatt about 40% of the boys who had this special help were at a great advantage over the 60% who could not afford to pay for it. This was more than unfair to the latter; it demoralized the staff and the boys they coached. A master teaching a class of, say, ten boys was under a constant temptation to favour the one or two boys in it for whose home-work he was responsible. The private tutor whose prospects of holding his job depended on the academical progress made by his ward was still more tempted to secure good results by methods which were of no educational advantage to the boy. It is believed thatt the written home-work of these boys was very often actually dictated to them by their tutors. The boys were mere scribes. A boy needs some instruction of course and, rarely, even dictation of notes; but the right time for this help is the class-period when the whole class hears what is said. During home-work a boy needs, and needs very badly, the opportunity of working on his own and learning to master his difficulties by himself. If he never has this exercise, he will never attain to any intellectual self-reliance. It is the same problem, transferred to the class room, as has already been discussed with regard to the boarding-houses. How far is it wise to shelter a boy and how far to encourage him to stand on his own legs?

There is some reason to think thatt these private tuitions were handed out freely to members of the staff, not so much because it was thought to be educationally desirable thatt they should do this work, as because this extra work increased their emoluments. In plain words, the system enabled the College to dodge having to pay as much in salaries as it felt thatt its staff ought to get. It degraded the College to the status of a hotel proprietor who pays inadequate salaries to his waiters because of the tips they will receive from clients. This system may suit a hotel but it will never work in a school. Thatt it continued throughout Mr. Stow's Principalship is an indication thatt there is justification for the opinion already advanced thatt the College would have done better to have given its staff better conditions of service. It could then have forbidden their helping special boys with their home-work. If it had forbidden that, it could also have forbidden private tutors doing such work; and have gone on to clear them out altogether on the ground thatt, as they were forbidden to coach, there was no other useful work for them to do. This step was not taken till 1931, long after it was overdue. The presence of private tutors in the College was an unmitigated nuisance, and they did much more harm than good. The small salaries most of them received and the temporary and uncertain nature of their employment very seldom attracted good men. These tutors were always confused by three different loyalties which they owed to the parent, the ward, and the College. They could seldom please all three. Their daily work was extremely light and there is a wise proverb about the danger of keeping one's hands idle. Sometimes the College used private tutors to help with the teaching work because by this means it obtained cheap teachers. One or two of these tutors taught well; for instance, Mr. Patnaik of Daspalla State who was a most conscientious teacher of Oriya. But, on the whole, the use of them demonstrated only too well thatt cheap teachers are a false economy.

While there is no hesitation in roundly condemning the presence of private tutors in a school it is only fair to add thatt not all tutors were bad. Mr. A. W. Forbes, for instance, was guardian-tutor to many minors during the period 1924–42 with occasional intervals, and not only looked after his wards most conscientiously but rendered other valuable services voluntarily to the College on many occasions. But an exception does not disprove a rule.

The greater part of this chapter has been devoted to an explanation why the problems that confronted the College between 1912 and 1931 were handled as they were; and to a discussion of whether they were rightly handled. If this explanation and discussion were not included, the difficult problems of this period could not be understood. Though

great care has been taken to treat each question as fairly and objectively as possible, the reader must realize thatt what seems today to have been obviously the right line of action was often very difficult—sometimes impossible—to choose fifteen or twenty years ago. He should now, however, have no difficulty in realizing what a transformation of the College occurred in Mr. Stow's time; no less than one from extreme debility to aggressive vigour which inevitably provoked some opposition.

It would however be premature, I think, to attempt an estimate of Mr. Stow's abilities as a Principal at this time; and, even if not premature, there are many good reasons why the estimate should not be written by me.

CHAPTER THREE

# THE RECENT PAST: 1912–1931

## FACTS AND FIGURES

This chapter mainly records the details of Mr. Stow's regime. It may, therefore, be found somewhat tedious by the reader who, though interested in schools, is not concerned directly with the history of the College. He may be well advised to dip only lightly into this chapter and chapter five. Both chapters, however, must be written to complete the record and for the use of those who need to keep themselves familiar with the events of the College past. After some hesitation, I have come to the conclusion thatt it will be most satisfactory to record the chief events of the period year by year.

### 1912–13

When Mr. Stow arrived on August 23rd 1912, there were 22 boys. Two-thirds of them seem to have come from the Central Provinces and one-third from Orissa. By March 1913 the number had risen to 27. One of the new boys, Ramanuj Pratap Singh Deo of Korea, who joined on January 4th 1913, has been destined to play a distinguished part in College history. The year was spent in planning, and the two outstanding events were Mr. Stow's note on the reorganization of the College in September and consideration of it by the Council in October. The number of officials who were members of the Council in those days is worth noting: the Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division; the Deputy Commissioners of Raipur, Bilaspur and Drug; the Director of Public Instruction, C.P.; the Political Agent, Chhattisgarh States; the Civil Surgeon, Raipur, and the Executive Engineer, Chhattisgarh States. Out of ten members present at this most important meeting, only the Rulers of Sarangarh and Sakti States were not English Government Officers.

Nearly all that Mr. Stow asked for was accepted, so instead of printing his note in full I record the decisions of the Council. Numbers were to be raised to 40 and boys to be admitted at the age of 9. Six classes were to be opened instead of four, the standard of English was to be raised, and the College was to seek permission to enter boys for the Diploma Examination. The staff was to be 'weeded and reorganised with a view to getting a suitable class of men.' Action on this decision followed immediately. Five masters left within the next

four months, and of the five who took their place one was Rao Sahib S. R. Pinge, who served the College from January 1913 to June 1938. One of the retiring masters was Thakur Dalchand, the only link between the school at Jubbulpore and the College at Raipur, who received a gratuity at the end of 31 years of service. Mr. Stow's request for an I.E.S. Vice-Principal could be accepted only on the condition thatt Government would meet the cost of his salary, which the Council was unable then to do; but it agreed to improve the strength and salaries of the Indian Staff as follows:

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|---|---|
| 1st Assistant ... ... ... ... | Rs. 250-10-300 |
| 2nd ,, ... ... ... ... | 200-10-250 |
| 3rd ,, ... ... ... ... | 150-10-200 |
| 4th and 5th Assistants ... ... .. | 100-10-150 |
| Drawing Master ... ... ... | 60- 5- 70 |
| Games and Grounds Master ... ... | 75- 5- 85 |
| Riding Instructor ... ... ... | 30 |
| Gymnastics and Drill Instructor ... ... | 30 |
| Resident Doctor ... ... ... | 50- 5- 60 |
| 1st Clerk ... ... ... ... | 40- 5- 50 |
| 2nd Clerk ... ... ... ... | 25 |

Though timescales were here sanctioned for most of the members of the staff, my recollection of the period 1921–30 is thatt they did not receive annual increments at all regularly. The Council also sanctioned the employment of another assistant on Rs. 150–10–200 when numbers increased and of two housemasters on Rs. 125–5–150 when two boarding-houses had been built.

The Civil Surgeon of Raipur was also engaged as medical adviser for a remuneration of Rs. 500 a year. Increase of the subordinate staff was also sanctioned.

To meet this increased expenditure, it was hoped to rely mainly on the Governments of the Central Provinces and Bihar and Orissa. The former paid the whole of Mr. Stow's salary, in 1912–13 Rs. 12,300, and made an additional grant of Rs. 11,735 a year. The Government of Bihar and Orissa was to be asked to give Rs. 12,000 annually. Income from fees in 1912 was Rs. 13,000 and from investments Rs. 3,180 and the expected total income was therefore about Rs. 50,000. It was calculated thatt, when a full staff was employed including two housemasters and an adequate sum had been provided for annual contingencies (Rs. 10,000 was asked for), annual expenditure would be about Rs. 51,000. The deficit of Rs. 1,000 p.a., would be more than covered if numbers rose from 27 to 40.

In addition to these plans to meet recurring expenditure, the Council sent to the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, a large

programme of non-recurring expenditure amounting to nearly 2½ lakhs of which they hoped thatt Rs. 1,79,186 could be provided immediately and the rest later. Rs. 1,56,362 were to be spent on building mainly two boarding-houses, servants' quarters, kitchens, and stables, and on repair of the main building; Rs. 7,500 on improvement of equipment; and Rs. 15,324 on drainage, water supply, fencing, and playing-fields. The rather forlorn hope was expressed thatt the Government of India would donate Rs. 50,000 and a more confident one thatt 'the Chiefs and Zamindars of the two Provinces for whose, and whose subjects' and ryots', benefit the College is primarily maintained' would cheerfully contribute the rest. These proposals were naturally the main event of Mr. Stow's first year, but it is worth noting thatt in it he put all boys into a uniform of white achkhan and pyjamas and light blue safa, and held the first Old Boys' gathering. It lasted four days, and was attended by 13 Old Boys who lived in a camp arranged for them by the Political Agent.

## 1913–14

This year, like the previous one, was a year of planning but with a difference. It was a year of planning to spend what the College actually had, and not what it hoped somehow to get. On August 11th 1913 the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, announced in the Hall thatt the Government of India had been pleased to permit the State of Nandgaon to donate five lakhs of rupees to the College. This is by far the most important single event in College history, as only a gift of this size made possible the development of the College. I have found no authoritative explanation why this State, not one of the largest in Chhattisgarh, was so generous, and can, therefore, only tell the story that I have often heard. Both Mahant Balram Das and his heir, Rajendra Das, had recently died and there was a dispute over the succession. The Dowager Rani Sahiba, widow of Balram Das, was anxious thatt a small boy, Sarveshwar Das, should be recognized as the minor ruler. Knowing thatt the College was at this time badly in need of funds, she informed Government thatt she would welcome the State's donation of five lakhs mainly to build two boarding-houses to be named after her late husband and son, if at the same time Government recognized Sarveshwar Das as the next ruler. Other gifts came to the College in this lucky financial year; half a lakh from the C.P. Government for building, and the promise of Rs. 5,000 a year from the Government of Bihar and Orissa to start in 1914. Striking while the iron was hot, the College appealed to States and Estates for

Mahant Serveshwar Das
Late Ruler of Nandgaon State

another three lakhs for three main purposes; to increase the endowment fund, to pay for certain buildings whose cost would not be covered by the Nandgaon donation, and to meet the cost of an English Vice-Principal, for whom Mr. Stow had started agitating even in 1912. But for the war of 1914–18 a Vice-Principal would have been appointed in 1915 at the latest, in which case I should not have got the job and someone else would be writing this story!

The rebuilding of the College did not get much beyond the planning stage in this year. The most important improvement, perhaps, was the enlargement of the compound to the size enclosed by the fence which surrounds it today. The present servants' quarters and stables (now the dairy) were completed, and a start was made on the kitchens, syces' quarters and cricket pavilion; but Mr. Stow complained thatt first things were coming last, because the boarding-houses had not been even started. It is interesting to see in the records thatt there was a lot of talk which came to nothing about two buildings which the College would have greatly benefited by having had built at an early date; a common dining hall, not built even today, and a guest house, not built till 1927.

Further changes of staff were made, so thatt Mr. S. N. Banerjei was the only member of Mr. Oswell's staff left, a sixth assistant master was engaged, and Mr. Abdus Shakur started his 19 years of College service.

Numbers rose from 27 to 34, 15 new boys being admitted. It is a significant fact thatt all fifteen of them were sent by official guardians. Distinguished among the new entry was Raja Narayan Prasad Deo, C.B.E., present Ruler of Baudh State, and one day to be Head Prefect and later member of the Committee and President of the Council.

In September 1913, the second Old Boys' gathering was held attended by 14 Old Boys, and at Christmas of that year the first educational tour was made to Allahabad, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Delhi, and Agra.

Games were encouraged by the gift of Challenge Cups which are still competed for; by Mr. Laurie, Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division, for hockey; by Raja Bahadur Jawahir Singh, C.I.E., late Ruler of Sarangarh State, for football; by Raja Lal Bahadur Singh, late Ruler of Khairagarh State, for tennis; and by Raja Chandra Shekhar Prasad Singh, late Ruler of Udaipur State, for cricket, now given for basket-ball.

One of the first defects noted by Mr. Stow on arrival was thatt no medicines or equipment were kept in the College Hospital, and this deficiency was put right by him in this year; but another defect noted by

him—the absence of a ward for sick servants—had to wait to be remedied by the Ruler of Gangpur State and his mother in 1943!

The Council met three times in July and August 1913 and March 1914. The Executive Engineer, P.W.D., Eastern Division, and the Civil Surgeon, Raipur, appear in the minutes as ex-officio members. Raja Lal Bahadur Singh of Khairagarh and Mr. A. P. Mitchell, Agency Inspector of Schools, were elected members in a personal capacity. Roughly eight British officials and two or three Rulers of States attended each meeting, and no representative from Bihar or Orissa attended any meeting before 1916, when Mr. Cobden Ramsay came.

The sub-committee responsible for siting all the buildings constructed during this year and the years immediately following consisted of the Raja Bahadur of Sarangarh State, the Civil Surgeon of Raipur, the Executive Engineer, Chhattisgarh States Division, and the Principal. Time has proved thatt they did their work very well. The construction was carried out by the P.W.D. of Raipur, whose Executive Engineers, Mr. Vacha and Mr. Lall, and Assistant Engineer, Mr. Dutta, deserved and received the thanks of the College. At that time the College had no building department of its own. Recurring receipts were Rs. 44,238 and expenditure Rs. 45,647.

## 1914–15

Construction of the two boarding houses started in this year and was completed late in 1915. Their actual initial cost was Rs. 1,62,146. Though some alterations have proved necessary during my regime, on the whole they were very well designed, as they possess a dignified appearance, contain airy rooms of convenient size, and avoid the expense of elaborate decoration, which characterizes the main buildings of some other similar schools. Their chief defect has proved to be flat roofs which are unsuitable in Raipur and have caused much trouble and expense to keep watertight.

The large white house in the N.W. quarter of the grounds was bought from a Mrs. Thompson and has been used ever since to accommodate two members of the staff. This is believed to be the oldest European building in this part of India as the stone over the porch bears the inscription 'E.B. 1856'. E.B. probably stands for Captain Evans Bell then assistant to the Governor-General's Agent at Nagpur, who, I conjecture, was sent to Chhattisgarh by the East India Company to take over the administration after Lord Dalhousie had applied the Doctrine of Lapse to the Bhonsle Raj. The house was used by him

and his successors for several years, and one of them built a small chapel to the north-west of the house, the foundations of which were visible when I first came to Raipur but seem now to have been overlaid with soil.

The existing kitchens (two rows mostly now used as storerooms), servants' quarters, stables (now dairy), and cricket pavilion, were completed. Work was begun on a house for an assistant master; it is uncertain which house it was, but either that next the Guest House or the one nearest to the lake. Mr. Stow was rightly anxious to accommodate his staff within the grounds as soon as possible.

After many alternatives had been considered, it was decided to build the present house for the Principal. At first it was decided to use the Principal's old house partly as a Guest House and partly for the Vice-Principal; but this plan was later abandoned in favour of demolition not, as Babu Paras Ram has said in chapter one, because the house was too near the Main Building for the convenience of a married man, but because it completely blocked the new approach road to the College from the North gate.

Donations began to come in in response to the Council's appeal of the previous year for three lakhs. The chief one was a gift of Rs. 12,000 from the Maharaja to provide the capital of the first Surguja Scholarship. In all another Rs. 8,990 were received by April 1915, the bulk coming from Khairagarh State (Rs. 5,000) and Kawardha State (Rs. 2,000).

It may be convenient to reveal the fate of this appeal for three lakhs at this place, though efforts were made until 1918 to alter it. The appeal failed; no State in Orissa responded, and even in the Central Provinces only Rs. 800 was collected from outside Chhattisgarh. The latter area subscribed, excluding the Rs. 20,990 mentioned above, a sum of Rs. 18,680 between 1915 and 1918. Of this sum, the Raja Bahadur of Sarangarh State gave Rs. 9,000 to the general building fund and Rs. 3,500 for the tower-clock. Bindra Nawagarh Estate was the next biggest subscriber with Rs. 2,500. The balance was subscribed in small amounts by the Zamindars of Raipur and Drug districts. It appears as if the general feeling of the time was thatt the Nandgaon benefaction ought to content the College.

Numbers during this year jumped up from 34 to 45. Nine boys came from Orissa, none from Bihar or Bengal, two from the rest of the Central Provinces, and 34 from Chhattisgarh including the States. Practically all came as the result of official pressure and many from very backward, out-of-the-way homes. By taking such boys the College was swallowing a large indigestible pill, but it had no alternative. It might,

however, in my opinion, have introduced a strict rule at this time not to admit any boy over eleven. The poorer a boy's home from the educational point of view, the more desirable to admit him at an early age. The boarding houses were not ready and, till they were, there was not room for more than forty boys. Yet in this year one boy of 16, later expelled, one of 15, and one of 12 were admitted. Future trouble was being created. It was also being created by boys who stayed too long; the two boys who left the College in 1914 were 21 and of those who left in 1913 three were 20. Prominent among the boys admitted in 1914–15 were the late Mahant Sarveshwar Das of Nandgaon in whose name the great benefaction had been made, the present Rulers of Keonjhar, Daspalla, and Raigarh States, and Ram Saran Singh Deo of Korea State, the only Old Boy of the College to date who has secured appointment to the Indian Civil Service.

The chief efforts of the Council were directed towards getting the College recognized as a Chiefs' College and recruiting an English Vice-Principal. The former effort still had to wait seven years before it fully succeeded, but the Secretary of State for India sanctioned a post in the I.E.S. for a Vice-Principal, though owing to the war it was six years before the post was filled.

The Council was enlarged by an invitation to Mr. Frederickson of Rajnandgaon to serve on it. Being manager of the cotton-mill there, he was not an official, but his inclusion in the Council emphasized the fact thatt at this time the College was being run almost entirely by Englishmen.

The annual grant of Rs. 5,000 from the Government of Bihar and Orissa began in this year, and this and increased fee-income swelled recurring receipts to Rs. 66,110. Recurring expenditure totalled Rs. 47,701. Most of the old endowment fund, invested in Government Securities, was realized, and 2½ lakhs of it were reinvested in C.P. Railway shares, which were not a trustee-security. It is hard to say whether this transaction was on the whole profitable or not. For some twenty years the Company paid a good dividend on the shares, but during the 1930–40 decade the shares much depreciated in value, dividends were reduced, and the College decided, lest worse befall, to sell out at an average loss of about 20% of its capital.

To invest 2½ lakhs in one company was certainly to put too many eggs in one basket; and to invest trust-money in non-trustee securities is open to legal objection, causes anxiety, and requires a constant eye kept on the money market, which those responsible for the College investments cannot keep.

Mr. S. N. Banerjei, the first assistant and the only remaining

Rajendra Das Boarding House

member of Mr. Oswell's staff, resigned in September 1914 much to Mr. Stow's regret after just over eight years of service which every Principal under whom he worked praised highly. Mr. Rashidul Malik took his place. Mr. D. D. Driver, a famous athlete, was the first Housemaster to be appointed, and Havildar Jawahir Singh, destined to serve loyally until 1928, was the first drill instructor. Mr. Stow started the custom of employing Housemasters who did little or no teaching and I continued it, thereby incurring criticism. I agree thatt in a school well organized and mainly filled by normal boys of the proper ages a good case cannot be made out for non-teaching housemasters, but I am sure thatt in the College of Mr. Stow's time they had a full and very important day's work. Only within the last decade have they become unnecessary. It is interesting to see thatt the Council in February 1915 considered Mr. Stow's proposal to appoint a Matron instead of a second Housemaster 'out of the question'; even when the first Matron, Miss Barrell, was appointed in 1937, her engagement provoked some opposition, but experience has shown thatt a Matron is a most valuable member of the staff.

Mr. Stow reported thatt the standard of work in the College now compared favourably with that reached in corresponding classes of the Daly College, as he remembered it. There were still no boys in classes 1 and 2, but there were seven classes below them, and two or three boys in class 3 were ready for promotion to class 2 in July 1915. They were being prepared for the Diploma Examination which, it was hoped, the boys of the College would soon be permitted to take.

The beginnings of interest in the College on the part of Rulers of Orissa States are visible in this year. The present Ruler of Hindol State, who left in 1912, presented a challenge cup for athletic sports. The then Ruler of Bamra State not only visited the College but entertained a party of boys and Mr. Stow in Calcutta at Christmas.

There was no Old Boys' gathering in this year owing to the war, but, in addition to the Christmas tour to Calcutta, tours to Delhi and Bombay were made, and only seven boys failed to join one of the three parties.

Mr. Muinuddin Khan, Deputy Commissioner of Raipur, kindly presented a Challenge Cup for shooting. The existing miniature range was constructed in 1914.

### 1915–16

During this year, the building programme was nearly completed. The two boarding-houses were brought into use in July, although the decorations on the roof had not been completed. After a good deal of

argument as to the best plan, the remodelling of the Central Block into its present shape was started, and the Raja Bahadur of Sarangarh State presented a clock for the tower. It seems thatt the Government of India architect recommended a different plan from the one adopted for the main building, but it was rejected as too expensive. There is no record of what thatt plan was, but if it was better than the one adopted, it must have been very good, because experience has shown thatt the arrangement of class rooms and offices in the main building is very satisfactory.

While this work was being undertaken by the P.W.D., the College for the first time engaged a private contractor to build the present Principal's house. As I have lived in it myself for fifteen years, I am well qualified to say thatt it is a very good, well built house; but I consider thatt it is the only College building built by a private contractor, which does possess any merit. During the rest of Mr. Stow's regime, new building work and major repairs were carried out by local contractors, and their work has proved shoddy and uneconomical. The Vice-Principal's house and Guest House have always shown signs of being badly built. During my regime, the College has always employed a whole-time Building Superintendent, and I consider thatt this has been a much more satisfactory arrangement than reliance upon contractors. A good superintendent saves the College annually nearly as much as he has to be paid.

Other building work during this year included the erection of the north and east entrance gates, a drainage system to the south of the main building and boarding houses, and completion of one assistant master's house. The old Principal's house and a master's house still stood blocking the north-gate drive up to the main building, but it had already been decided thatt they were to be demolished.

A good deal of attention was paid by the Council during this year to the keeping of accounts and their auditing, but the result of the deliberations was a system that proved very unbusiness-like. All the College accounts were to be audited monthly by the office of the Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division, and this arrangement continued in force until I became Principal. It was an audit only in name, and did not amount to much more than a check thatt the receipts for payments made were in order. One striking defect of the College accounts during Mr. Stow's time was the muddling up of capital and income, and recurring and non-recurring receipts and expenditure. When, for instance, Nandgaon State donated five lakhs of rupees, this was shown in the accounts as a receipt of the same kind as schooling fees or the recurring annual Government grant, and when a boarding house was

built, its cost was debited to the same account as thatt from which was paid the cost of a textbook! Inevitably several items were paid for out of capital which should have been paid out of income and vice versa. But the worst muddle occurred in the Kumars' account, into which all moneys received from parents were credited, and out of which all payments made on behalf of boys were paid. There was no fool-proof system to ensure thatt, when a payment was made, it was debited to the boy or boys concerned. A payment from this account very often has to be shared, not necessarily equally, amongst several boys. This accurate sharing out was often incorrectly done with the result thatt when I took over in 1931, a sum of Rs. 12,885–14–0 was missing from this account. There was no question whatsoever of dishonesty on the part of any one. The money was lost by sheer bad accounting. Over a period of 19 years, this total had been paid out from the Kumars' Account without the payments' being debited in full to the individual accounts of the boys concerned. In defence of the clerical staff, it must be pointed out thatt until 1921 there were only two clerks, and from then unto 1931, three; and thatt the Head Clerk who was responsible for all the accounts had more work than he could properly attend to. I have recorded this story in order to point its moral, namely thatt it *saves money* to pay for a proper annual audit. If the College had paid Rs. 200 a year (which is the present annual fee for audit of the Kumars' account) for 19 years to have the account properly audited, the cost would have been Rs. 3,800; by not having a proper audit, the cost amounted to Rs. 12,885–14–0!

Numbers during the year continued to rise from 45 to 49, but the new boys coming were still all sent by official guardians. When they started to occupy the new boarding-houses, boys of all ages lived in each house. The rooms on the first floor were used as dormitories and those on the ground floor as study rooms, three boys usually sharing a room. Both rows of kitchens were in full use, and at meal-times every boy disappeared into his own kitchen, where he and his servants ate together, rather like a lot of rabbits disappearing into their own holes in the same burrow. Brothers and very close relations shared a kitchen; the rest had kitchens to themselves. I have already said how well planned and built I consider thatt the boarding houses were, but they had one very glaring defect, which, it surprises me, thatt only one parent ever protested against. The latrines were not only situated at some distance from the boarding-houses, but were of the most primitive type. Those that exist today are by no means as good as they ought to be, but compared with the original boarding-house latrines, they are perfection itself.

The Council was busily engaged during this and the following years in securing recognition of the College as a Chiefs' College and obtaining permission for the boys to sit for the Diploma Examination. Because in this year it was still uncertain whether these requests would be granted, the Council decided on another final examination to remain in force until a decision about the Diploma Examination had been reached. It is not necessary to go into details, as this examination was never actually held, but it may be of interest to record the plan in outline. The top class was to be examined by the Director of Public Instruction, Central Provinces, in English, a modern Indian language, History, Geography, Mathematics, and Science on the syllabus prescribed for those subjects in the Diploma Examination; and those candidates judged by him successful were to be recognized by Allahabad University as having matriculated. Before the first batch of boys was ready to take this examination, the Government of India had agreed to allow them to sit for the Diploma Examination proper.

There were seven classes at this time, no boy having as yet reached the matriculation class. The teaching of Law, Political Economy, and Land Revenue, was dropped for the excellent reason thatt a boy still unfit to matriculate was still more unfit to study such post-matriculation subjects.

The question of the Principal's salary came up in this year. Mr. Stow had been appointed on a scale of Rs. 750–50–1,000 with a personal allowance of Rs. 100 p.m. The Council wanted to raise it to Rs. 1,000–50–1,500 in view of the splendid work Mr. Stow had done in reorganizing the College; but as the Government of the Central Provinces, not the Council, paid the whole of his salary, it could not be raised without Governmental approval, which was not given till the College was recognized as a Chiefs' College in 1921. The Council, however, increased his allowance to Rs. 250 p.m., from the beginning of 1916, offering to pay from College funds the extra Rs. 150 p.m., if Government would not; for some unexplained reason Mr. Stow does not appear actually to have received this increased allowance till 1918.

There is no question in my mind but thatt Mr. Stow was worth to the College any money that it could find to pay. Though I have ventured to criticize, in the interest of truth as I see it, some acts and features of the administration of his time, the reader who concluded from those criticisms thatt I did not consider him to have been a highly successful Principal at this time, would have lost his sense of proportion. The record is clear as crystal thatt, till Mr. Stow came, the College never made really effective progress; and thatt, during at least the first decade after he came, it progressed by leaps and bounds. He deserved

an increased salary in 1916 and, as the Council said, he undeservedly had to wait for an increase until the question of the College's recognition as a Chiefs' College was decided. Nevertheless, this proposal of an increase came at an unfortunate time.

1916 marks the beginning of an agitation to improve salaries and conditions of service of the rest of the staff, which lasted to the end of of Mr. Stow's regime, an agitation which, it seems to me, was rather badly handled by the Council. The result was a discontented, and therefore potentially disloyal staff—the worst kind of staff that any school can have. Mr. Stow himself was aware of this danger. Writing in 1920, he said '. . . it will be necessary shortly either to offer them further promotion . . . or to help them to obtain openings elsewhere. Failure to do either will result in a discontented and therefore inefficient staff and will make it impossible to attract the right type of master in the future'. The Council granted time-scales covering at the most only six years, often a still shorter period; a master who has put in only six years of good work will not be content to earn no further increments. Even when a master had not reached the top of his time-scale, he could not count on getting his increment annually, however well he had worked. I cannot prove conclusively thatt this statement is correct, but such is my strong recollection, confirmed apparently by a resolution of the Council in March 1917, that 'members of the staff should be informed that no application for an increase of pay would be entertained till the applicant had completed three years of service without an increase'. Thirdly, though most applications were refused, the refusal was often accompanied by a hope of 'sympathetic consideration later,' which resulted in more applications at every Council meeting and much disappointment. It is generally true to say thatt a master during this period had to fight for every increment and, when he got it, he had to start to fight again for his next one. That was bad for morale. Because increments were rarely given, every master hoped to supplement his salary by tutoring boys during hours of homework. That was bad for morale also. Though this subject of the staff and their conditions of service is not discussed in any detail again in this chapter, it should be borne in mind thatt it was a very sore point with the staff throughout the whole period covered by the rest of the chapter.

When Mr. Banerjei resigned in 1914, Mr. Rashidul Malik became first assistant. This arrangement, however, was changed in 1915, when he and Sirdar Ishar Singh were made senior assistants of equal standing on Rs. 225–10–275; the rest of the teaching staff were designated assistant masters with no order of seniority. Khan Muham-

med Khan, another distinguished athlete, joined the staff as second housemaster; and a motor car was bought and an instructor engaged to teach the boys to drive it. The Senior staff was now pretty much as I knew it when I arrived in 1921; namely two senior assistants, two housemasters, four assistant masters, one master each for games, drawing, motor-instruction, drill, gymnastics, and riding, a resident doctor, and two clerks.

More efforts to interest the Orissa States were made in this year. Not only did Mr. Cobden Ramsay, C.I.E., I.C.S., Political Agent of those states, attend a Council meeting for the first time in November, but he brought with him as a visitor the then Ruler of Sonepur State. However, the death, soon after this, of the Ruler of Bamra State who had been showing a lively interest in the College, was a very untimely check upon the growth of Oriya support of the College.

Recurring receipts totalled Rs. 69,242 and similar expenditure Rs. 65,390. The College could now pay its way but, with numbers continuing to rise, might, I feel, have put more money from now on into staff salaries. Perhaps I am being wise after the event in writing this, and perhaps it was hard in 1916 to realize thatt the College's conditions of service at that time would seldom attract, and never hold, really good masters.

Boys from the Central Provinces and Bihar and Orissa then paid Rs. 40 p.m., each for tuition and lodging. Their personal expenses on food, servants, clothes, and such things, were extra and varied in amount from boy to boy. Boys from other provinces were liable to pay much more for tuition but none had yet come.

The Old Boys' gathering was held again in November and 13 attended. Many of the boys again went on tours at Christmas. The educational value of a well-arranged tour is great, but these tours are really the business of the parents, not the school, to arrange. Parents have been very slow even up to the present time to realize and undertake their responsibility for the education of their sons in the vacations. It is not good for the staff of a school thatt many of its members should seldom enjoy a vacation to themselves.

Raja Bahadur Leeladhar Singh of Sakti, who was one of the only three Rulers thatt up to this time took a keen interest in the College presented a Challenge Cup for gymnastics, which is now awarded annually for all-round physical efficiency.

During this year, Mr. Stow completed his arrangements for the sale of supplies (mainly foodstuffs) to the College. Two contractors were given a monopoly. One sold perishables in the grounds for an hour or so daily: the other, Harish Chandra Sadasheo Modi, was allowed (this

THE MAIN BUILDING AFTER 1916
North View

caused trouble and expense later) to build his own shop in the grounds where he sold chiefly grains, fuel, oils, and spices. Mr. Stow fixed his prices and often inspected his shop, and the Doctor was ordered to supervise the quality of all articles sold by both monopolists. Milk was supplied by two or three 'gwalas' of Danganiya village who, throughout Mr. Stow's time and my own up to 1943, supplied milk at below market rate in return for the right to graze their animals in the grounds. I think thatt it is not conceit but a fact thatt the different arrangement that I eventually introduced—a College Shop and College Dairy both owned solely by the College—was a much better one; but Mr. Stow had many more important things to do in 1916 than the organization of these, and the above arrangements may be said to have given him the best possible results considering his other preoccupations and shortage of reliable supervising staff. Nevertheless, a contractor is bound to make a profit; and the more his prices are controlled and his dealings scrutinized, the more subtle and unscrupulous his ways of profit-making inevitably become. A doctor on fifty to sixty rupees a month will not even wish to detect them.

### 1916–17

The College had to be closed from the end of January 1917 till the middle of June on account of an epidemic of plague. Though no case occurred inside the College grounds, there were many close to it. Almost every member of the staff was sent to some boy's home where he did his best to teach a group of boys collected there.

The whole of the original big building programme ought to have been finished off by the middle of 1917, thanks to another building grant of Rs. 30,000 from the Government of the Central Provinces, but there was delay. The money was not so much an original grant as a refund of nearly all P.W.D. supervision charges paid by the College since 1913. Domes were put on the boarding-house roofs; the main building was given a clock tower, upstairs verandahs north and south, and better doors and windows downstairs. The Principal's new house was actually finished off and occupied. His old house and the master's house that stood to the north of it were sold for demolition for the astonishingly high price of Rs. 36,000. The last of the 'smoke-begrimed huts' of Mr. Oswell's time were also demolished. They stood between Balram Das House and the present Science Laboratory and had been accommodating members of the staff for the last two or three years. They must have been gladder than anyone to see them go.

There is nothing fresh to record about the staff in this year except

that Mr. Pinge took five months of study-leave in order to sit for his LL.B.

Numbers rose again from 49 to 55, but I think I am correct in saying thatt all fifteen new boys were sent by a Court of Wards and thatt, therefore, there was no proof from their arrival thatt their parents wanted them to come. The influx in these years only indicated for certain thatt several Government officials were busy recruiting for the College. Three of the new-comers were over thirteen. A very sad event to have to record is the death of Arjun Das of Nandgaon at his home in November where he had been taken after illness at the College. He had had a chronically enlarged spleen since childhood. He is the second of the five boys who have died during 51 years with their names still on the College roll.

Mr. Crawford, Political Agent, Chhattisgarh States, and Mr. Stow visited the Mayo and Daly Colleges in August 1916 to see what could still be done to get the College recognized as a Chiefs' College and particularly to reach a decision on the number of classes needed by it. They returned persuaded thatt eight classes were necessary, and Mr. Stow immediately redistributed the boys in new classes as follows: Class I nil, Class II four, Class III four, Class IV seven, Class V nil, Class VI ten, Class VII eight, Class VIII (in two sections) twenty-two. These figures do not indicate thatt the College was full of very young boys. They indicate something very much less satisfactory, namely thatt it contained an unhealthily large number of boys who ought to have been fit for Classes II to V, but had not the intellectual ability to rise above Class VI. The average boy that was being recruited particularly from the Chhattisgarh Courts of Wards was the first member of his family to go to school and had a very definite idea thatt he had been very unfairly treated by being sent.

After Messrs. Crawford and Stow's return, the Government of India was again requested to allow the College to present candidates for the Diploma Examination.

Signs were again visible of the efforts being made to secure the interest of the Orissa States. The then Ruler of Sonepur State donated a sum, the interest on which provides an annual prize in his name. Mr. Cobden Ramsay again attended a Council meeting in September 1916 at which the Rulers of Talcher and Hindol States were elected members for five years. I am glad to say thatt the latter is still a member today. The Council in those days did the work of both the present Council and Committee, and possessed no constitution or rules. Except thatt the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, had to be consulted on all important matters, the Council did what it liked and elected

anyone it wished to have as a member. By this election the number of Ruler-members rose to four, increased to five at the end of 1917 by the election of the present Ruler of Sakti State.

The accounts of recurring income and expenditure show the first large deficit in this year. Expenditure totalled Rs. 63,400 and income only Rs. 51,933. The printed accounts looked much rosier because the government grant, Rs. 30,000, and the sale-proceeds of dismantled houses, Rs. 36,000, were shown as income. School fees were increased by Rs. 3 p.m., per boy as Games and Library subscription. Rs. 20,000 were invested in 5½% War Bonds.

Mr. Stow was much disappointed by the failure of the Old Boys' gathering in 1916, which only seven attended. It was probably experiences of this kind which led him to hold no more gatherings till the one held in 1930 to meet the Viceroy. The poor attendance strengthens my belief thatt at this time the average boy came to the College unwillingly, left thankfully, and never wished to see the place again.

Little has so far been written in this chapter about games and exercise during Mr. Stow's time. What follows should be taken as a description of these activities not only in this year but throughout Mr. Stow's Principalship. He introduced very few changes after his first year or two.

Mr. Stow was an ardent player of games himself, and not only very energetic but very proficient. He excelled at football, cricket, and tennis, but he also played other games and took part in many forms of sport. He recruited a staff of considerable athletic ability: Messrs. Driver and Khan were, like Mr. Stow, good players of all games and possessed cricket reputations extending far beyond the Province. Two tutors of these days, Messrs. Doctor and Kapadia, were also good all-round athletes. Mr. Razdan was a useful cricketer. Many Old Boys remember thatt, if Mr. Pinge was not born a great games player, he made himself into a most resolute opponent! The staff, particularly from 1915 to 1925, could put a strong team on the field to play any game. Almost all the staff supervised boys' games and played with them frequently; Mr. Stow himself often played thrice a week and, I think, always twice. The boys were divided for games and exercise into, at first, two, later three, divisions according to age and size. Before breakfast a division rode or had marching drill or gymnastics, and a couple of boys at a time learnt how to drive a car. Mr. and Mrs. Stow often took the riders out hunting. The gymnasium was the present carpenter's shop and was filled with apparatus now, but not in those days, considered unsuitable for growing boys. The drill was

dull and unpopular; the sort of thing that army recruits have to endure for hours on the barrack square. There were no rifles for arms-drill. The whole of this morning-exercise would now be considered out of date, but it was very thoroughly given, and hardly a morning passed when Mr. Stow himself was not present. On Sunday mornings shooting practice at the range took its place.

In the afternoons from July to October or November cricket and football were played; from then till April, hockey and tennis. Athletic sports were held in the winter or spring, but there was little practice beforehand and not so much importance was attached to these activities as now. Sometimes boys rode in the afternoons, and when there were keen polo-playing officers in Raipur, a few boys got some games of polo. There was no polo played in the Civil Station after I came, however. There was no boxing, wrestling, or basket-ball, and only a little swimming in the Karun river in March and April.

Many matches were played at cricket, hockey, and football, against local teams, but very few against outside ones and none at all against schools outside Raipur. The College is badly placed geographically from the point of view of inter-school matches, but Mr. Stow might, I think, have done more to overcome the difficulties. Games in a school which has no 'needle' matches with rival schools are rather like an egg eaten without salt. The local teams, that came to play week after week, all called themselves by different names, but many players played in all teams and no boy in the College cared who won or lost. There were usually three or four visiting cricket teams which came during the monsoon, but they were too good for the boys to take on by themselves.

The College had four teams to put in the field; a strong team consisting of six or seven masters and the best four or five boys; the boys 1st XI; the second division team of boys 12 to 15; and the third division team of little boys.

Tennis was the most popular game; and most boys enjoyed football and hockey also, but would have enjoyed them much more if they had had annual matches against schools in, say, Nagpur and Jubbulpore to practise for and look forward to. The attitude to cricket has always been a puzzle to me, and perhaps I may best at this place discuss the history of cricket in the College up to the present day.

During my first ten years at the College, cricket was played as the major school-game from July to October. It was always fairly popular in the second and third divisions but, as boys grew older, more and more of them disliked it. There were of course always a few who were very fond of it and became fairly proficient; but I never

knew a year when the first division could put a respectable team on the field. Every team depended on two or three boys. There never seemed to me to be any real enthusiasm; I never remember, for instance, boys of their own accord giving each other fielding or catching practice; or having serious practice at the nets in spare time; or reading books on the finer points of the game; or any boy who had the first idea of the art of captaincy.

I attribute the unpopularity of cricket during my first ten years of service to several reasons, of which the first three are probably the most important. There were no inter-school cricket matches for the 1st XI of a kind to raise enthusiasm. In a school of between 50 and 60 boys, ranging from the ages of 8 to 19, it is impossible to prevent several small boys having to play with others much older and stronger than they. I think thatt in cricket, more than in hockey or football, small boys get disheartened by having to play under conditions for which their size and strength do not fit them. Thirdly, cricket was, and still is, an unknown game in the homes of ninety per cent of the boys. I have never heard yet of a cricket match being played in Orissa. Not only did the boys of the College have no encouragement to play cricket at home, but also they had no opporunity to see good cricketers in action. The climate of Raipur is not very favourable for cricket. Conditions in the monsoon term are best, but matches are always then liable to be spoiled by rain; after the monsoon is over, the ground rapidly becomes very hard and bumpy, which makes fielding an unpleasant business. If cricket is to be played seriously in a school, a lot of time must be devoted to it, and an undesirable attitude towards games is created when a lot of time is given in a small school to a game in which several boys have little interest.

For these reasons, and because I wanted the time previously devoted to cricket to be used for other activities, such as farming, boxing, wrestling, basket-ball, and athletic sports, I gave up cricket as a compulsory game when I became Principal. I am sure thatt those Old Boys who were fond of cricket were very horrified at my action and have always considered thatt I made a great mistake. They may be right, but the fact remains thatt cricket in the College today, after it has been only a voluntary game for over ten years, is more popular than I remember it ever to have been in Mr. Stow's time. This fact seems very paradoxical. It has taught me the lesson thatt one way to make a thing popular which is unpopular is to make it voluntary. I can claim no credit for the fact thatt cricket is now a popular game, because I never had the intention to try to make it so. Its popularity, as a week-end activity, was of purely natural growth.

It may well be thatt in future cricket will again become a regular school game. I think thatt the ten-year interval during which it was a voluntary game only, will come to be considered one that has helped it to regain that status. I cannot, however, see myself how it can ever become a satisfactory major school-game, until there are at least a hundred boys in the College.

During most of Mr. Stow's Principalship, there were no compulsory activities on Thursday afternoons. Mr. Stow's idea, with which I cordially agree, was thatt it was easy in a boarding school to overwork a system of compulsory games; and thatt a boy benefited by having at least one afternoon in a week when he could do what he liked in the open air. If I remember rightly, there were a few years during which Mr. Stow had compulsory games even on Thursday afternoons, but they were exceptional. When I became Principal, I took a small step further. I gave up compulsory games on Saturday afternoons, and on Thursday afternoons, instead of games, I gave the boys a choice of other physical activities in the open air.

### 1917–18

There is no doubt what was the main event of this year, the permission of the Government of India (January 1918) for candidates from the College to take the Diploma Examination, and the recognition to that extent of the College as a Chiefs' College subject to its being open to an annual governmental inspection. The Council had, of course, been working for this recognition for years, but certain events in the last half of 1917 helped greatly to win the day. At the end of June 1917 Mr. H. Sharp, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India (as he was then quaintly called), inspected and reported on the College. Then in December 1917, the late Raja Lal Bahadur Singh of Khairagarh and the late Raja Bahadur Jawahir Singh, C.I.E., of Sarangarh, the Rulers who more than any others took interest in the College in this decade, attended a Chiefs' Conference at Delhi on behalf of the College and there urged its claim for recognition. Those who reflect thatt twenty years later the College decided thatt it had no future as a Chiefs' College pure and simple, and thatt the Diploma Examination was not one for which parents had enough respect, would, I think, be wrong to conclude thatt the jubilation caused by the Government of India's decision was a lot of fuss about very little. For the first time in its history, the College was committed to a final examination of matriculation standard, which challenged Staff and boys to reach something that 20 years earlier Chief Commissioners had said

thatt they could never reach. Mr. Stow on their behalf was claiming thatt the College standards had in six years been raised by three years, and when his claim was put to the test in 1920, it was found to be true. That was a very considerable achievement.

The first governmental inspectors were Dr. K. S. Caldwell and Mr. F. C. Turner, Principal of Dacca College, who made their visit in March 1918.

The Main Building was finally put into its present shape in this year and the College at long last was left undisturbed by an army of workmen to settle down, in Mr. Stow's words, 'to steady progress along the now established lines'. The only other new provision of this year was the opening of a Library, made possible by the generosity of the Rulers of Sarangarh, Khairagarh, Sakti, Chhuikhadan, Kalahandi, and Hindol States, Thakur Mahendra Nath Shah Deo of Jaria, and Lal Uma Shanker Prasad Singh of Mahulpatna.

Numbers rose from 55 to 58. Though one of the six new boys was 17 ( a queer age for admission), the other five were all under 9, the best age for admission. All six boys were sent by official guardians, one of them from Bihar, from which the College was just beginning to obtain boys.

A sad event in November was the death at the College of Budhram Singh of Gandai from heart-failure following pneumonia.

The staff remained unchanged except for a change of doctor. Kaluram Thakur began his 16 years of service in the College Hospital in this year; so this may be considered an appropriate place at which to review the medical arrangements of the College in Mr. Stow's time.

The Civil Surgeon, Raipur, was medical adviser and paid more frequent visits than he does today. The resident doctor lived close to the hospital, of which he was in sole charge and also looked after the sanitation and work of the sweepers. The hospital had no compounder or separate compounding room, but had two wards with four beds in each. Provision was thus made thatt everything that a doctor can do for a patient could be done for the boys; but it seems to me thatt the boys were liable to be over-doctored and undernursed. It was assumed thatt a doctor knows how to nurse as well as to doctor, which is no more true than the assumption thatt an architect knows the work of a building engineer. As there was no male-nurse employed. and as the Civil Surgeon or his assistant was within easy call day or night, it has always seemed to me thatt the College needs a resident nurse rather than a resident doctor. The post of doctor at the College never can attract a good man. There is no private practice; he will soon get out of touch with his profession, because he does not get a

large enough number or variety of cases; when he does get an interesting case, he has to play second fiddle to the Civil Surgeon; and the College, paying the Civil Surgeon in addition, can offer only a very small salary to its resident doctor.

Mr. Stow started an excellent system of a medical history for every boy. The regular healthy life that he made all his boys lead was the best medicine in the College, and the general health throughout his time was good.

The only other event concerning the staff worthy of mention was an attempt to get the Director of Public Instruction to offer members of the staff, recommended by the Principal, openings in the C.P. Educational Service; and to get the Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division, to help them to employment in States and Zamindaris. Though Sardar Ishar Singh and, later, Syed Agha Hyder Hasan did get into the C.P. Educational Service, and Mr. Rashidul Malik into Zemindari service, these attempts to improve the prospects of the staff failed, and were bound to fail. Dyarchy was about to be introduced as part of the Montford Reforms; and, if there was one thing above all that the new Councils were certain to prevent, it was prevention of any favouritism's being shown in the competition for governmental jobs to the staff of a school, which was still run mainly by English officials. The control of the College by English officials is a subject that has been mentioned before, but it will stand repetition and emphasis to correct the popular idea thatt the College is the creation of the States alone. That is not true during the first 30 years of its life. The original endowment of two lakhs collected from States and Zemindaris in 1893–94, and the Nandgaon donation of 1914 were admittedly of great importance in putting the College on a firm financial foundation, but from 1894 to 1923, the College could never have survived, let alone prospered and developed, if it had not been for the Government of the Central Provinces, its officials who were nearly all Englishmen, Mr. Oswell, and Mr. Stow. It is only since 1925 thatt the College has been a State-run as well as State-financed institution.

Because of his responsibility for the College, the then Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, Sir Benjamin Robertson, visited it every year. His successors during the 1920–30 decade, Sir Frank Sly and Sir Montague Butler, followed his example. There were other visitors of interest during 1917–18; the Ruler of Hindol State, who can claim to have been the first Orissa Ruler to attend a Council meeting (September 1917); Miss Cornelia Sorabjee, Lady Adviser to the Courts of Wards of Bengal and Bihar, whose influence during the next ten years secured the admission of several Bihar boys; and the

Ruler of Sakti State who in this year started a length of service on the Council, third only to that of the Rulers of Sarangarh and Hindol. The College sustained the serious loss of a good friend in January 1918 by the death of the then Maharaja of Surguja State who had founded the Surguja scholarship in 1914. His place fortunately was filled by a still greater friend, Maharaja Ramanuj Saran Singh Deo, C.B.E., who during the last 25 years has not only sent one son and four grandsons to the College, but has donated the magnificent total sum of Rs. 1,29,235, thus creating one of the debts of gratitude which the College will find it impossible adequately to repay.

Finance was more healthy this year with recurring receipts totalling Rs. 79,620 and expenditure Rs. 66,275. School fees alone now totalled Rs. 26,991 which sum was about equal to the total receipts for the year 1911–12, which preceded Mr. Stow's arrival. As the College, at the moment of writing has recently started its own dairy, it is interesting to see thatt the idea of having a dairy was turned down reluctantly in 1917–18 on financial grounds. I believe thatt, if the bold course had then been taken, it would by now have proved a very paying proposition.

The only other items of interest during this year were thatt Kishan Singh of Gandai for the second year running threw a cricket ball well over 100 yards (his throws still constitute the College record); and thatt Mr. Stow had by now established a prefectorial system. There was at first (1915–16) one head and two house prefects. Suraj Pratap Singh of Jhilmili was the first head prefect. In the following years, there were one head, and four house, prefects. There is no mention of how they did their work in these years, but when I joined I thought the then prefects to be a discontented, unhelpful set. They had hardly any privileges and so were, perhaps naturally, unwilling to take responsibility or perform duties that might gain them unpopularity with their school-fellows. The College education was not yet such as produces the right material, and without that a prefectorial system is a two-edged sword with the wrong edge sharper.

## 1918–19

During nearly the whole of this year, to be exact from September 4th 1918 to June 19th 1919, the College was ruled by what is nowadays called a 'caretaker' government. Mr. Stow went to Iraq on military duty, though his work there, I have been given to understand, was mainly educational; and the Rev. A. F. G. Wardell officiated in his place. I have been able to find out next to nothing

about where he came from or what happened to him later, except the fact thatt he was a Government chaplain and his own admission thatt he had done no educational work for a long time before his arrival. Tradition has it thatt he was a lax disciplinarian and for the ease-loving master and boy a very welcome change from Mr. Stow; but there really is no evidence thatt this tradition is the truth. It is surprising thatt not even in the minute book of the Council is any reference made to his origin, qualifications, and terms of service. I can only guess thatt he was lent to the College by the Ecclesiastical Department.

1918 was the year of the terrible influenza epidemic that scourged many parts of the world and is said to have killed more people than lost their lives in the whole war of 1914–18. Unfortunately, it did not miss Chhattisgarh and Orissa, for it carried off the Ruler of Khairagarh State (a grievous loss not only to the College) and the Ruler of Dhenkanal State. Messrs. Pinge and Kanetkar were very ill for a time and many boys suffered; but the deaths in the College were limited to those of three servants. For the last four months of 1918 litle work could be done in the College except the care of the sick.

Nawab Niazuddin Khan of Khujji was elected to the Council in place of the Ruler of Khairagarh State. He seems to have taken little interest in his appointment, but it is of interest because he had been one of the students of the old Rajkumar School at Jubbulpore and was the only one of them who had any formal connection with the College at Raipur.

The Inspectors in 1919 were Mr. Turner of Dacca for the second time and Mr. R. H. Beckett of the College of Science, Nagpur. The help of the latter was asked to design a new Science Laboratory in connection with a project to demolish the existing one, which stood somewhere to the north-east of Balram Das House, and to rebuild it on its present site.

The Chief Commissioner—perhaps because Mr. Stow was away—thought it necessary to visit the College twice. Another interesting visitor was Mr. Fawcus, just beginning a very long tenure of the post of D.P.I., Bihar and Orissa. His visit must have been connected with the efforts that the Council had been making, partly with the help of Miss Sorabji, to recruit boys from Bihar.

Seven new boys joined during the year, six from Orissa and one from North Madras, the late Brij Kishore Chandra Singh Deo of Dharakota. Not only was he the first boy to join from the Madras Presidency, but he was, so far as I can make out, the first volunteer recruit during Mr. Stow's Principalship. He was sent by his father

and was not conscripted by any governmental official. It is disappointing to have to add thatt his father, having volunteered to send him, also volunteered prematurely to remove him in 1921; and thatt, when his own sons were old enough to go to school, he did *not* volunteer to send them to the College. Nevertheless, he was the first volunteer.

Numbers rose from 58 to 59.

Recurring income totalled Rs. 84,039 and expenditure Rs. 72,665. The Council decided in consequence to regrade the salaries of the teaching staff as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1st Assistant ... ... | Rs. 250–10–300 |
| 2nd ,, ... ... | Rs. 225–10–275 |
| 3rd ,, ... ... | Rs. 200–10–250 |
| 4th and 5th Assistants ... | Rs. 125–10–175 |
| 6th Assistant ... ... | Rs. 100–10–150 |

No mention was made of the salaries of the housemasters in the Council's resolution, which did not satisfy the staff, if one can judge from their applications of the following year.

A suggestion of the Inspectors, if it had been acted on, might have done more good to College and staff even than better conditions of service. They recommended thatt masters should be sent in turn to Training Colleges where, at least, they would have improved their qualifications for other posts. But nothing came of this, in my opinion, very sensible recommendation. For some reason, that I never understood, Mr. Stow saw no need for a master to be trained professionally; and I think thatt he engaged only one trained teacher in 19 years.

As the main events of this 'caretaking' year do not occupy much space, room may suitably be found here for a word about the prizegivings of Mr. Stow's time. Some years later than this, Sir Montague Butler put the main characteristic of them into a nutshell by saying thatt everyone enjoyed them, because everyone got a prize. This was not much of an exaggeration. For instance, in this year 1918–19, eight challenge cups, 26 individual cups and prizes, and 16 class prizes were given to 59 boys. Rulers and English officials each gave nearly half the individual cups and prizes, most of the challenge cups were the gifts of 'Old Boy' Rulers, and the College gave the class prizes. This generosity must, as Sir Montague said, have made prizegivings very enjoyable; but I do not think thatt it was educationally desirable. The standard needed to win a prize must have been low; a 'pot-hunting' spirit must have been aroused; and success in life to the boys must have appeared altogether too easy.

6

1919–20

Several events of importance to the College occurred in this year. The chief was the reorganization of the Governing Body into a form recognizable as its present one. Up to this year one Council had, subject to the Chief Commissioner's approval, been responsible both for policy and administration. It had had no fixed membership; it had elected anyone it wished to elect whenever it wanted to for as long as it liked. This Council was now dissolved and replaced by two bodies, a large one responsible for policy and general supervision of a small one responsible for administration. The large one, to be called the General Council, consisted of:

*Patrons*

THE GOVERNORS OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES, and BIHAR and ORISSA.

*President*

THE GOVERNOR OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

*Members*

THE COMMISSIONER, CHHATTISGARH DIVISION.
THE POLITICAL AGENT, C. P. STATES.
THE POLITICAL AGENT, ORISSA STATES.
THE CHIEF SECRETARY, CENTRAL PROVINCES.
THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, CENTRAL PROVINCES.
THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, RAIPUR.
ALL RULERS OF CHHATTISGARH STATES IN POSSESSION OF FULL POWERS.
ALL RULERS OF ORISSA STATES IN POSSESSION OF FULL POWERS.
FOUR ZEMINDARS OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES, NOMINATED BY THEIR GOVERNOR.
TWO ZEMINDARS OF BIHAR AND ORISSA, NOMINATED BY THEIR GOVERNOR.
THE PRINCIPAL OF THE COLLEGE, *Secretary*.

The smaller Body, to be called the Managing Committee, consisted of:

*Chairman*

THE COMMISSIONER, CHHATTISGARH DIVISION.

*Members*

THE POLITICAL AGENT, C. P. STATES.
THE POLITICAL AGENT, ORISSA STATES.
THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, RAIPUR.
TWO RULERS OF THE CHHATTISGARH STATES, ELECTED BY THE COUNCIL.
ONE ZEMINDAR, CENTRAL PROVINCES, ELECTED BY THE COUNCIL.

*Secretary*

THE PRINCIPAL OF THE COLLEGE.

Nominated and elected members were to hold office for five years and the President of the Council had the power of veto.

It will be noted thatt, though these two Bodies are obviously the seeds from which have grown the Council and Committee of the

MAHARAJA RAMANUJ SARAN SINGH DEO C.B.E.
Ruler of Surguja State

present day, officials were very strongly represented in both in 1920; and thatt the C.P. Rulers and Zemindars were much more strongly represented in both than were those of Bihar and Orissa.

The College lost the services of Sirdar Ishar Singh in this year. He entered the C.P. Educational Service and eventually became Deputy Director of Public Instruction. Mr. Stow made known the high opinion thatt he held of the Sirdar Sahib as a schoolmaster. He went on to express the hope thatt equally good appointments might be found for other members of his staff after they had given at least five years of good service to the College; and the opinion thatt it is undesirable thatt those who join the staff should regard College service as their permanent career. He seems to have hoped for a staff of masters, few of whom would serve for less than five, or more than ten years, and several of whom would always be young and vigorous. His hopes were disappointed because he never discovered any way in which to obtain for his masters with over five years of service appointments more attractive than their ones at the College.

Another building programme commenced in this year. The Vice-Principal's house, the present Science Laboratory, the masters' houses near the East gate, and eight more boys' kitchens were commenced. The C.P. Government gave Rs. 1,000 to lay out the gardens and realign roads in front of the Main Building. More old buildings were dismantled.

Two very handsome gifts were made; a sum of Rs. 65,235 from the Maharaja of Surguja State to pay for an electrical installation; and one of Rs. 22,550, from 25 Rulers of the Chhattisgarh and Orissa States and seven Chhattisgarh Zemindars, to build a swimming bath in memory of the great services to the College of Sir Benjamin Robertson, then about to retire. Misfortune came to both donations. A swimming bath was not built in 1921, because the inadequacy of the city's water supply was then beginning to be seriously felt. It does not seem to have occurred to anyone then thatt this difficulty could have been easily overcome by sinking one or two wells. When the College 'slump' came in 1922, the subscribers agreed to transfer their donations to the New Endowment Fund, then being raised, and the College had to wait another 19 years for a swimming bath in the grounds.

The electrical installation was working by 1921, but its misfortune was thatt by 1929 it was mostly scrap metal. The dynamo charged a battery of 120 cells, which gave all houses in the grounds a D.C. supply. Not only was the dynamo expensive to run, but the cost of keeping the battery in good order was extremely high. It is probable thatt a good enough electrician to look after it was never obtained, but

it is equally probable thatt the type of battery installed was ill-suited to the climate. Wherever the fault lay, the fact remains thatt after eight years little of the Surguja gift remained and after twelve none at all—a very sad history of a most generous benefaction. This seems to me to be the one occasion in College history when money received was very unwisely spent. The Maharaja's gift was made to commemorate his father and was large enough to provide a memorial both substantial and permanent. If the College had to have an electrical installation, it should itself have provided the money. It should not have spent a commemorating benefaction on something bound rapidly to depreciate. I hope thatt in the future this wrong can be put right. For example, if the College, as I suggest in Chapter VI, builds out of its own funds a dining hall and a new class-room block for Higher Certificate and Art classes, it might well commemorate the names of the present Maharaja of Surguja State and his father in the two buildings. It would also be a graceful act to call the two annual open scholarships the Robertson scholarships.

Numbers rose once again during the year from 59 to 61. Of the nine new boys, no fewer than three were volunteers. The arrival of Yuvraj Naresh Chandra Singh, son of the Ruler of Sarangarh State, marks the beginning of the arrival of the second generation. Not only did he have an excellent record while at the College, but he has been its good friend ever since, has served on the Council, given money to the College, and contributed to this chapter. The other new boy of most interest was the present Ruler of Manipur State, Assam, His Highness Maharaja Bodh Chandra Singh. This is the time when Mr. Stow first admitted boys to lodge in his house. The Manipur Rajkumar and, soon after, his two brothers lived their whole school-lives in his house; the Sarangarh Rajkumar came to live with me as soon as I arrived in 1921. In Chapters II and IV, I have given it as my opinion that it would have been better if this lodging of boys with a member of the staff had never been started. Once started, it took 24 years to stop.

By this time, thanks to Mr. Stow's efforts, the College was recruiting from many areas outside Chhattisgarh. There were 13 boys from the Orissa States, 3 from 'British' Orissa, 3 from Bihar, one each from Assam and Ganjam, and six boys from four C.P. districts outside Chhattisgarh.

Three boys sat for the Diploma Examination for the first time, Ramanuj Pratap Singh Deo of Korea, Bibhudhendra Man Singh of Dompara, and Bharat Singh of Paralkot. The inspectors of the year, Mr. Hesketh of Poona and Mr. Garrett of Lahore, examined them in

oral English and practical Science. Their success in the examination exceeded, it seems, Mr. Stow's hopes. The first two each won first classes and were first and second in order of merit of all the candidates. Bharat Singh was placed ninth with a second class. The moment when Mr. Stow received this news has a claim to be considered the one when the College fortunes under his principalship rose to their highest level. Though the College secured even better Diploma results during the next five years, after 1920 its fortunes began to ebb.

It seems almost treacherous to 'write down' this success in any way, but it is better to keep a sense of proportion than to be misleadingly patriotic. The Diploma examination set a standard thatt a clever boy of 14 or 15 could easily reach in the College today; in 1920 the three College candidates were over 18, 17 and 22 (!) respectively. Even so, they were no older than most candidates from the other four Chiefs' Colleges in which the academical standard must then have been very low. The College's Diploma successes from 1920 to 1926 prove the lowness of their standards rather than the height of its own.

Ramanuj Pratap Singh Deo distinguished himself at cricket as well as in examinations, and was considered by Mr. Stow to be easily the best cricketer thatt the College had so far produced. This was unfortunately the last year in which there were officers in Raipur regularly playing polo; and it was the first in which Mr. Stow took steps to start a Boy Scout Troop.

Sir Benjamin Robertson paid his farewell visit in November, 1919 and was entertained by the Rulers of the Chhattisgarh States; he had done his very utmost for seven years to develop the College successfully. Sir Frank Sly, the new Chief Commissioner, soon to be called Governor, paid his first visit in February 1920 to a very different College from the one he had known when some fifteen years earlier he had lived in the grounds as Political Agent.

Two prominent Old Boys died in 1919, the Ruler of Kawardha State and Tikam Das of Chhuikhadan.

Recurring income was Rs. 88,284 against similar expenditure Rs. 75,380. Schooling fees were further increased from Rs. 43 to Rs. 46 p.m., by the addition of a monthly charge for Books and Stationery and totalled Rs. 32,796. By this time, the C.P. Government was giving an annual grant of Rs. 28,490 while the Bihar and Orissa Government was still granting only Rs. 5,000.

1920–21

I hope thatt I shall not be charged with conceit if I write thatt one of the chief events of this year was my arrival on February 2nd, 1921. I arrived to find the College closed by an epidemic of measles of a severe type, and no boy present except those who were ill. Some were very ill, espcially the present Ruler of Daspalla State and the young Minor Chief of Narsinghpur. The former eventually recovered fully, but the latter, after recovering sufficiently to convalesce in Bombay, contracted a very severe form of tuberculosis in April and died in the summer. The College was most bitterly criticized for his death. It was maintained thatt, if he had convalesced at his home instead of in Bombay, all would have been well. The truth has always seemed to me to be thatt his severe illness had so lowered his power of resistance thatt he was an easy victim to the T.B. germs previously dormant in him and thatt they would have claimed his life wherever he had gone. Any way, Mr. Stow had to send him where the medical adviser of the College wanted him to go, and the latter, after considering a convalescence in Orissa, preferred one in Bombay. To say, as was said, thatt the medical adviser was incompetent, is to ignore the facts thatt many boys were seriously ill, thatt all made complete recoveries except this one unfortunate boy, and thatt even he recovered from his measles and its complications and died from another illness which no doctor, however famous, can hope always to fight successfully.

The outburst of criticism against the College, that followed on the untimely death of this boy and was loudest in Orissa, was really provoked by much more than the one sad event. That was only 'the last straw'; or a good excuse for the outburst. I arrived to witness a serious attempt to undo everything which in nine years Mr. Stow had done to build up the College. 'The old order' was making a last stand against the new. There were many people resentful of his work, and though I doubt whether they formed any co-ordinated plan of attack, when one discontented group became vocal, other groups soon 'gave tongue' also.

There were the many mothers of conscripted boys. They had not liked sending their sons to a place 'where they would not be properly looked after', and when they heard thatt one of them had not been allowed to go home after a serious illness and had later died, they thought thatt it was the right time to say so.

There were the boys themselves, many too old to be still at school, and still more who were still undigested by a school that had increased its numbers by nearly 150% in nine years. Most of them were conscripts who had no desire for the education they were getting; and the prefect system that Mr. Stow had recently instituted produced few boy-leaders

anxious to raise the tone of the school. While many disliked their school, a few were outspokenly bitter. They spread stories against the College in many homes, especially in Orissa and Bihar, and one was strongly suspected to be the author of some bitter articles in the Oriya press. The only occasions on which I have met with insubordination and defiance from boys occurred during my first two years; on one occasion several senior boys walked out of the grounds and spent the night in the town. Mutiny was in the air.

The staff was discontented for reasons already explained. How far the staff actively irritated the centres of discontent will never now be known, but their sense of loyalty did not impress me as high. There were also many tutors living in the College, many of whom saw no reason to place loyalty to the Principal higher than their own interest as they saw it.

The main criticisms and opposition, however, came, in my opinion, from a group of people in Bihar and Orissa whose names were never known. There are always people hanging round a Raj family with an eye on the pickings. They hope so to ingratiate themselves with the Ruler thatt they and their families will receive many benefits. They particularly want to get an influence over a Ruler while he is still a minor. When Mr. Stow began to recruit young Rajkumars from Orissa and Bihar in considerable numbers these people feared thatt the influence of the College would harm their own designs, and they were quick to utilize all centres of discontent in starting an agitation—partly conducted in provincial newspapers—whose main object was to close Bihar and Orissa as recruiting grounds of the College. The success of their efforts can be judged from the facts thatt numbers dropped from 65 in 1920–21 to 44 in 1922–23, and thatt the Bihar and Orissa Government in 1923 stopped its annual grant of Rs. 5,000. For the above reasons the measles epidemic of 1921 has always seemed to me to have been much more than an epidemic of measles; it gave the signal for the start of an epidemic of vilification. While on the subject of epidemics, I should like to add thatt this one of 1921 and the influenza epidemic of 1918 (which spread over most of Europe and Asia) are the only two from which the boys of the College have suffered at all severely during the last 33 years. Such a record, compared with those in England, where a school counts itself lucky if it has had no epidemic in three years, seems incredibly good and a wonderful testimonial to the healthy life that boys live at the College.

The first non-official members of the Committee were the Rulers of Mayurbhanj, Surguja, and Sarangarh States, and the Zemindar Sahib of Khujji. The first two attended the first of the two Committee

meetings held during the year. The chief business at both had by now become 'a hardy annual'—applications from the staff for better conditions of service, which the Committee did not grant, but yet—rather weakly—held out hopes thatt it might soon grant. All that the staff got in this year was a monthly allowance, averaging nearly Rs. 20 p.m. per master, and liable of course to be stopped at any time.

Sir Frank Sly presided over the first meeting of the new Council on July 10th, 1920, and appealed to all Rulers and Zemindars to support the College, which had improved out of recognition since 1912. The first Zemindars elected to the Council were those of Khujji, Phuljhar, Hatta, and Pandaria.

The Vice-Principal's house, the East Gate quarters, the Science Laboratory, and some more kitchens were finished by the end of 1920, and some improvements—not amounting, I am afraid, to very much—were made to the boys' latrines. This completed the building programme of Mr. Stow's time except for the construction of the Temple and Guest House.

In spite of the College's having been closed for over a month on account of the epidemic, the Diploma results were even better than in 1920. Four candidates sat, who occupied the first four places in order of merit and three of them secured the only first classes awarded. All four of them scored 'distinction' marks in Arithmetic and Mathematics.

Mr. Hesketh of Poona and Mr. Beckett of Nagpur were the inspectors for the second year running. They strongly recommended the building of a Guest House and the enlargement of the Hospital, and the devotion of the money collected to commemorate Sir Benjamin Robertson to one of these purposes instead of to a swimming bath.

Numbers rose to 65. They were not to touch sixty again until 1933. Forty came from the Central Provinces, twenty from Bihar and Orissa, and five from Assam and Madras.

### 1921–22

During this year, the Government of India at long last decided to recognize the College as a Chiefs' College of equal status to the other four, but on the two conditions thatt the Central Government would not be expected to make any grant and thatt the Governments of the Central Provinces and Bihar and Orissa would continue theirs. Recurring receipts in this year totalled Rs. 96,306, out of which the C.P. Government gave Rs. 31,685 and the Bihar and Orissa Government Rs. 5,000. Recurring expenditure was Rs. 94,264, the increase being due to my salary's having to be found by the College. I started on Rs. 650 p.m.

No sooner had this announcement been received with joy and its conditions accepted, than the news arrived thatt the Legislatures of both Provinces had decided to stop all grants to the College at the end of the 1922–23 financial year. The College was faced with a loss of income amounting to Rs. 36,685 p.a., and had just been told not to expect any help from the Government of India. Faced with such a crisis, it seems to have been either very brave or very reckless of Mr. Stow to decide to take leave and of me to get married.

I have often wondered since whether this stoppage of grant was caused by the then agitation against the College. I am inclined to think thatt it may have caused the Bihar and Orissa Government to act as it did, because the campaign against the College was strongest in Orissa and the amount of the grant was relatively so small thatt it might have been allowed to continue if some members of the Legislature had not been determined to get it stopped. I do not, however, believe thatt the C.P. Government stopped its very much larger grant because the College was being attacked. Speaking very objectively, I think thatt it acted as it did for a very good reason. Under the Montford Reforms education had recently become a transferred subject. The Education Minister, answerable to the Legislature, needed every anna he could get for provincial education. It was very natural thatt he did not want to defend a large grant to a school that was not under the control of his department, that had been most generously treated by his Government for several years, and that catered for boys of a comparatively wealthy class. He might well say, 'If the Rulers and Zemindars want a school for their sons, it is time thatt they financed it themselves'. Once dyarchy had been introduced, the College grants were doomed, epidemic or no epidemic, agitation or no agitation. I have described how the College faced the first major crisis in its history in 1912; the story now has to be told of its second. But as only the nature of the crisis was revealed in this year and action to overcome it was taken in 1922–23, I shall, first of all, record a few other events of the 1921–22 year.

The then Yuvaraj of Seraikela, now the Ruler, inspected the College and wrote a note outlining the improvements that he wanted made. His chief recommendations were the building of a Temple, the engagement of a shastri in order to raise the standard of religious instruction, and the employment of at least one orthodox Hindu of high caste as housemaster. This constructive criticism was particularly welcome from a member of an influential Ruling family of Orissa at this time when there was then so much destructive criticism. Never-

theless, I think thatt most of the Yuvaraj's recommendations were wrongly conceived.

Religious instruction up to this time had been given by a few members of the staff. On Sundays and religious holidays, they used to take the boys to the Temple in Chiruldih village to the N.E. of the grounds; twice every week-day the boys under their direction sang religious songs in the Main Hall taken from the prayer-book compiled for the College by the Rulers of Patna and Bamra States. These masters also gave short weekly sermons.

Thatt the College, with its almost entirely Hindu personnel, should have its own Temple was not a matter of controversy, of course; it was one of finance only. The money eventually came generously during 1927–29. Two or three shastris were employed during the next decade as the result of the Yuvaraj's advice and proved to be complete failures. The hard fact revealed was thatt to find a shastri who was *both* suitable from the religious point of view *and* able to win the respect of and control over fifty boys was an impossible task. For the College to accept the proposition thatt a housemaster must belong to a particular community and hold certain religious views has always seemed to me undesirable. The best person to choose as a housemaster is the person best qualified for the job. Housemastership is an English educational conception and so it is unlikely thatt an orthodox Hindu, who must hold very un-English views on a multitude of subjects, will be able to make himself into a successful housemaster in a school whose boarding arrangements are organized on English lines. One with many other merits was tried but could not acquire the merit of being a good housemaster.

Much confused thinking occurs over religious instruction in schools. The phrase is used to refer both to instruction in the history, literature, and ritual of a religion and to the efforts made to build up on right lines the characters of the students.

To teach the former subject at school-level, one does not need an expert in religion any more than to teach school-science one needs a doctor of science. What is needed above everything is a man who knows the art of teaching, how to present any subject in an interesting, intelligible way. That is what no shastri whom the College employed seemed able to do. I have found thatt the subject is far better handled by those Brahmin members of the staff who are good teachers.

To build up on right lines the characters of the boys is most certainly not the exclusive task of any one member of a school staff. The parents themselves are the main teachers. A boy does not often rise much above the ethical level of his home. At school all members

of the staff and all the boy-leaders are, for better or worse, builders of boys' characters. They are teaching a practical, not theoretical, subject. I have little belief in the efficacy of sermons, exhortations, and moral precepts. The way—the only way—to help a boy to be good is to give him plenty of opportunities of doing good; and the task of staff and boy-leaders is a most important and difficult one, namely to set a good example in doing good day after day. In saying this, I do not mean to suggest thatt religious services and talks on ethics are a waste of time; they have their use, but by themselves they make very little impression. Formal worship and instruction in religious literature and ritual are needed so thatt a boy may become instructed in the faith, ceremonial, and traditions of his religion, but the person who imagines thatt this worship and instruction will give him a better character, deceives himself.

Numbers dropped to 52 from 65 (Mr. Stow in his annual report says 67, but I do not think thatt there were ever more than 65 boys actually present in the College during this or the previous year), and this decline forced the Committee to raise fees from Rs. 40 to Rs. 60 per month per boy. If it proved possible, as it did, to raise fees when things were going wrong, it might have been as easily possible to raise them prior to 1920, when the College was on the crest of the wave, and to have devoted the receipts to paying salaries, that would have attracted a really good team of masters. It would have been a great help to the College to have had a contented staff during the difficult years following the epidemic of measles. Two of the few new boys came from Bengal, so thatt the old connection between the College and that Province was temporarily renewed. They were, I think, the first Muslim boys to be admitted. Unfortunately, one of them was much too old and the other too abnormal to be regarded as recruits likely to give the College a good advertisement in Bengal. The first application for the admission of a boy not belonging to the Ruling Class was received at this time. A very wealthy and prominent business man of the Central Provinces desired to get his son admitted. After the Rulers of the Chhattisgarh States had been consulted, it was decided to refuse admission.

Signs of discontent amongst the members of the staff were not confined to the applications which they were now presenting at every meeting of the Committee. Mr. Rashid-ul-Malik left to take over work in the Panabaras Zemindari; Mr. Driver resigned, the services of another master were dispensed with, and the Doctor and the Head Clerk submitted their resignations but withdrew them later.

The Rulers of the Chhattisgarh States had had a portrait of

Raja Lal Bahadur Singh of Khairagarh State painted after his death, and, in recognition of the great interest that he had taken in the College at the end of his life, presented it to the College; it has hung in the Main Hall ever since.

Though from this year onwards I am helped in writing my account by my ability to draw on my own recollection of events, I have been greatly handicapped by the loss of Mr. Stow's Annual Reports between 1921 and 1931. I had hoped to write the rest of this chapter whilst on leave in England in 1944, and these reports were in one of my boxes awaiting shipment from Bombay, when it was destroyed by the explosion of April 1944 in Bombay harbour. From now on, therefore, certain facts and figures, that I should have liked to include are no longer available.

The Diploma examiners and inspectors of the year were Dr. Caldwell and Mr. Firth of the Government College, Lahore. It seemed thatt in this year there was no one who had not got a stick with which to chastise a Chiefs' College, for these inspectors wrote a report highly critical of all the Chiefs' Colleges, which was generally believed to have been mainly the work of Mr. Firth. All the other inspection reports of the last thirty years have been so politely written, their criticisms so decently veiled, and any reforms so discreetly recommended, thatt to read the Firth report gives me the same sensation as a jump into very cold water. It was greatly resented and controverted at the time, but my opinion is thatt it did a great amount of good. The Colleges were charged with treating modern Indian languages 'as the Cinderella of the curriculum', with the possession of libraries (in some schools excellent ones) which masters and boys hardly used, with employing incompetent teachers who seldom taught anything but 'the text-book', corrected no written work and made far too little use of their equipment, and in general with having 'the outward and visible signs' of a Public School but not 'the inward and spiritual grace'. Finally 'we do not consider that full advantage has been taken of the opportunities which these Colleges offer for giving . . .' etc., etc. The report is stimulating reading even today.

The Raipur College was let off more lightly than the others because its Diploma results 1920–23 had demonstrated thatt its teaching standards were higher; but 1923 was not a year in which the College could welcome anything but a very first-class report. One does not want attacks from all quarters simultaneously! Yet I am afraid thatt the College was guilty of the 'Cinderella' charge, and of frequently having one subject—say English—taught piecemeal to a class by two or three different teachers, a method of teaching organization then

common in all Colleges and rightly criticized strongly by the inspectors.

The state of affairs in the other Colleges must have been much worse, which means very bad. The Diploma results 1920–26 prove that. I know from personal experience thatt the College staff and the candidates that it prepared during this period were not so good thatt the latter were bound to top the Diploma list six years running against the competition of four other schools, if they had been efficiently organized and staffed. Both in 1922 and 1926 the four College candidates filled the first four places in order of merit; that is to say, the worst College candidate in those years was better than the best candidate in four larger and longer-established schools. That fact can mean only one thing, and Mr. Firth said so—forcibly!

**1922–23**

This was a very momentous year in College history. Mr. Stow went to England in April 1922 on a very well-earned leave, and I officiated for him until December. I do not remember feeling nervous at the ordeal or apprehensive of my ability to handle the very difficult financial crisis; I think thatt I was too ignorant and inexperienced either to appreciate the real situation or to realize how very uncertain the future of the College had become. Ignorance is said to be bliss, and all I remember is thatt I was very happy.

The Committee met in July, twice in November, in January and February 1923. The Council met under the chairmanship of Sir Frank Sly, Governor of the Central Provinces, on the 7th of November, 1922, on which date a large gathering, typical of the Old Boys' Gatherings of recent years, assembled. It was ominous, however, thatt no Orissa Ruler was present to meet Sir Frank Sly, when he issued his appeal.

He pointed to the advance in education and training that had been made in the College since 1912. He urged the necessity of keeping the College alive because of the community of feeling which it aroused and the encouragement which it gave to co-operation amongst the states. There was no doubt thatt the teaching given at the College was good, and the Council, he felt sure, strongly desired continuance of the institution. Therefore, the Rulers and Zemindars must co-operate to support it now thatt it was faced with the loss of Government grants-in-aid. It might be necessary to alter the constitution and to make other changes, but he reminded the Rulers thatt, if they undertook the management of the College, it would be their duty to attend meetings of the Council and Committee with more regularity than they had done in the past. A new endowment fund of seven lakhs of rupees

would be needed, if the College was to maintain the position that it had reached.

Bibudendhra Man Singh of Dompara, who had been one of the first successful Diploma candidates, was the only Oriya present at this Council meeting, and he only by permission of the President in order to voice in their absence the opinions of certain Orissa rulers. He made it clear thatt no help was coming from the Orissa States in this emergency, unless several changes affecting the College were made. A committee was appointed to report on these changes. The Dompara Kumar also made some complaints about enforcement of discipline and, of course, about the fatal illness of the Narsinghpur Minor Chief. The Managing Committee enquired into these complaints soon after. As they are now nearly a quarter of a century old, I do not think thatt any useful purpose will be served by resurrecting them, except to say again thatt the attack on the Civil Surgeon, Raipur, was most unfair. The importance of the incident is thatt it reveals the ill-will towards the College then rife in Orissa, a prejudice that even today has not been completely overcome.

The other enquiry into the changes needed in the College in order to persuade the Rulers of Orissa to contribute to the new endowment fund, is of more historical importance. The special Committee which met in February 1923 consisted of the Rulers of Talcher, Hindol, and Sarangarh States, the Director of Public Instruction, Central Provinces, and Mr. Stow. The changes wanted were mainly of two kinds; firstly, thatt the official element in the Council and Committee should be greatly weakened, the representation of Rulers and Zemindars increased, and the representation of Rulers and Zemindars from Orissa made equal to that of the Chhattisgarh Rulers and Zemindars. For instance, officials such as the Chief Secretary, Central Provinces, and the Deputy Commissioner, Raipur, should cease to be members; the Chairman of the Committee should be a Ruler, and not the Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division; the Zemindars from Bihar and Orissa on the Council should number four; and on the Committee there should be two Orissa and two Chhattisgarh Rulers and one Bihar and Orissa and one C.P. Zemindar. Nearly all these changes were accepted during the next year or two and were entirely reasonable. If Rulers and Zemindars were to subscribe a sum as large as seven lakhs to endow the College, it was natural thatt they should want to take most of the control of it out of the hands of officials who had monopolized control for so long.

The other changes demanded from Bihar and Orissa were not nearly so reasonable or likely to be granted. There was a demand

thatt the College should teach up to Intermediate standard. Those who have read the other chapters of this book will know how strongly I agree with a recommendation of that kind. But it is curious to remember hearing Orissa Rulers in 1922 saying thatt, if only the College taught up to the Intermediate standard, their boys would flock to the College; and then to remember what actually happened when at long last the College opened Intermediate classes and failed to get any Orissa Ruler to let his son stay at the College to take an Intermediate course!

Another change, that could be defended on no educational ground, was thatt boys should enter the College between the ages of 12 and 14. A demand was also made for a post-diploma course of training up to the B.A. standard with a special view to imparting training in General Administration. This proposal was curious on two grounds. This post-diploma course would have cost a great deal of extra money; it seems strange to have advocated it and Intermediate classes at a time when the College needed seven lakhs to keep even its existing courses running. Secondly, I have during my principalship advocated on several occasions post-matriculation administrative training. These recommendations have never evoked any enthusiasm so far. It, therefore, seems curious thatt in 1922 the Orissa Rulers were saying thatt, in order to win their money, the institution of such a course was most desirable. I do not myself believe thatt this second group of changes was proposed in good faith. The Orissa States did not then want to send their boys and they wanted excuses to avoid doing so.

The staff received what were called 'new temporary salaries' during the year, but no provision was made for any increments, probably because the financial future was so uncertain. The first assistant received Rs. 350 per month, the second Rs. 275 per month, the third Rs. 200 per month, the fourth and fifth Rs. 195 a month, the sixth Rs. 150 per month; housemaster No. 1 Rs. 185 per month, housemaster No. 2 Rs. 150 per month and the drawing master Rs. 100 per month. Mr. A. C. Mukerji, an orthodox Hindu Brahmin, was appointed housemaster in order to give a trial to one of the recommendations made by the Yuvaraj of Seraikela State. His other recommendations about a temple and the engagement of a shastri had to be kept pending until the financial position was settled. The services of two members of the staff were terminated soon after the new salaries were announced. Syed Aga Hyder Hasan, M.A., L.T., the only trained teacher recruited during Mr. Stow's principalship, and Mr. Tripathi, M.Sc., took their places.

Only three new boys were admitted during the year, during

which numbers fell as low as 44. One of them, however, was Birendra Bahadur Singh, elder son of the late Ruler of Khairagarh State, and today Raja Bahadur and Ruler himself, the present Chairman of the Committee, and a most devoted and generous friend of the College.

Much that has been written in the immediately foregoing pages shows thatt these were dark days for the College. They were not, however, all dark. A truly great response was about to be made to the appeal for a new endowment fund. The money, however, did not begin to come in in any quantity until the middle of 1923. Up to the end of March, 1923, only four Zemindars of the Central Provinces had subscribed between them a sum of Rs. 36,000. Four candidates sat for the Diploma Examination, of whom one obtained a first class and was placed first in order of merit, the second a second class and the 5th place, and the third a third class and the 10th place; the fourth candidate failed to pass owing to his weakness in Mathematics.

1923–24

Certain innovations will now be referred to. Though they did not all start in this year, they had by this time become successfully established. I refer to Boy-scouting, the Magazine, the Debating Society, and the Set System. All these features of the College life have continued from this time down to the present day with the exception of Boy-scouting.

The first magazine was almost entirely written by me and appeared at the end of 1921. Subsequent numbers have appeared usually twice a year ever since, though its present title of *The Mukut* is only about 10 years' old. The main changes in the magazine of today are thatt it is almost entirely written by boys or old boys, thatt it is illustrated by the work of boys, and thatt the Hindi and Oriya sections have greatly grown in importance. There is no doubt thatt the Magazine has helped greatly to keep alive the interest of parents and old boys in the College.

A debating society had existed whilst Sardar Ishar Singh was a member of the staff, but did not hold any meetings after he left. Mr. Stow asked me to revive it soon after I arrived, and meetings began to be held again towards the end of 1921. All the proceedings were in English; one of the criticisms in the Firth Report was thatt in no Chiefs' College were any debates held in a modern Indian language. The first Hindi and Oriya debates at the College were not held until I became Principal. From the time when the English debates started again in 1921, the standard of the speeches improved

and the number of speakers increased, but I do not consider thatt I aroused any genuine enthusiasm for speech-making; I have not any great enthusiasm for it myself. The debates may be said to have been regarded by the boys as lessons in English conversation of the better kind. They are much better run, and boys play a much bigger part in them today, largely owing to later efforts of Messrs. V. S. Forbes and Gadre.

The set system started in 1923; Mr. Stow told me thatt he had obtained the idea of a set competition from a school at Aysgarth in England. It is a system which has suited the College with its small numbers very well. In the first year after its inception there were eight sets; in 1924 and 1925 there were six, but from 1926 onwards there have been four sets only, known as the Aryans, Bikrams, Rajputs, and Ranas. Soon after the late Mahant Sarweshwar Das of Nandgaon left the College in 1924, he presented a challenge shield for the boy who secured the highest number of set marks annually; in the same year, Captain S. E. Tidy, who was then a guardian-tutor in the College, presented the set challenge cup. From the beginning of the set system in the College boys were marked monthly for work, games, conduct and hygiene; and inter-set competitions in all games and physical activities were held annually. In short, it is a system, started by Mr. Stow, which has stood the test of time and has changed remarkably little during its life.

Very soon after my arrival, I was sent to Chhindwara to take a Scout Masters' course, and from July 1921 I started the formation of a scout troop. The Wolf Cub Pack came later. Mr. J. B. Kapur, Mr. (now Rai Sahib) S. K. Shrivastava, and Mr. S. N. Kunzru were all cub-masters at one time or another. I remained as Scout-master of the troop until I became Principal in 1931, but received valuable assistance from other members of the staff from time to time. Starting with only 7 or 8 boys, the Troop by about 1925 had recruited every boy old enough. In the summer of 1924, some of the College scouts distinguished themselves at the Provincial Scout Rally at Mandla by winning the first prize, and later members of the Troop also acquitted themselves well at many rallies. Several camps were held near Raipur, Social service was rendered at melas, and 'Hikes' involving at least one night out had, of course, to be made by all boys aiming at the first-class scout-badge. An ambitious project was the photographing of a propaganda play illustrating the ability of a scout to serve other people. These photographs were later converted into magic-lantern slides and used with a running commentary at many places in the Central Provinces. No one knows better than I thatt a great amount

of time and effort was put into scout-training during the last ten years of Mr. Stow's principalship, and thatt as a consequence many boys made themselves much more useful and skilled members of society.

Nevertheless, I was by no means fully satisfied by all this work. I feel inclined to say, about the College scouts that I knew, the same thing that Mr. Firth said about the Chiefs' Colleges when he inspected them in 1923; namely, thatt they had a lot of the outward and visible signs of good scouts and not much of the inward and spiritual grace. There were individual exceptions, of course, but many scouts who took the scout's promise apparently made very little effort to keep it; and soon after boys in twos and threes began to be allowed to camp out at night on their own, complaints began to come in thatt several of them abused the trust placed in them. In fact, in 1929–30 some parents made it a condition thatt their scout-sons should not be allowed to camp out. As camping and hiking are the two most important features of the scout-training, the above condition really amounted to saying thatt these boys must give up scouting. In 1930 several Rulers of Orissa made it clear through their representative on the Committee thatt they did not appreciate the value of scout-training. These objections truly indicate a College difficulty of this period; namely, thatt the tone was not high and thatt many senior boys lacked a sense of responsibility and a desire to set good examples. I remember thatt I became very disheartened to feel thatt I had scouts in my troop well decorated with badges and, to all outward appearances, good and efficient scouts whom I could not trust out of my sight. Partly because of this depression, partly because many parents in 1930 had shown thatt they did not want their sons to be scouts, I gave up scouting in the College. I have never been sure thatt I did not make a big mistake; thatt I had not been expecting too much of the then boy-leaders too quickly; and thatt, if I had been more patient and persevering, the right type of patrol-leader would not have been produced in the next decade. The history of set-leaders in the College seems to indicate thatt I did make a mistake. The set-leaders who held office during the period when scouting was still in full swing were, taken as a whole, not more reliable and trustworthy than the patrol-leaders; yet the set-system has been persevered with, and in recent years most set leaders have really deserved the thanks of the College.

Nevertheless, there were big practical difficulties in 1931 in the way of a College Troop. As Principal, I had not the time to run it myself any longer; there was no member of the then staff who appeared 'cut out' to succeed me as scoutmaster (it was a job much better not done at all than done under 'Principal's orders'); even if I had made

an inspired choice, it was then becoming hard to get a scoutmaster trained; scouting had become a political issue and was rapidly ceasing in India to be an educational activity. Vocal public opinion, the enthusiastic Indian nationalists, had decided thatt the Baden-Powell Scout Movement was a dangerous 'imperialistic' influence which must be suppressed. I shall express no opinion on their decision. Its effect was thatt the grants to Provincial Headquarters were stopped, organizing secretaries were sent away, training camps were closed down, and it became 'unpatriotic' to take any active part in the movement. Nevertheless, it was still possible in 1931–32 to get scoutmasters trained, and I think thatt I ought to have got trained any masters who were prepared to act against public opinion; but I decided, maybe wrongly, thatt it would do more harm than good to have a Troop in the College belonging to a movement which I knew to be doomed. Instead, I tried—the Seva Samiti is one effort to that end—so to reorganize the College out-of-school training thatt boys would get all, or nearly all, the training of a boy-scout without their calling themselves scouts. The story of this reorganization belongs to Chapter V; but I should like to say here thatt I am convinced thatt in a residential school of at least 100 boys such training can and should be given, and thatt I, as Principal, succeeded in giving it only partially mainly for lack of numbers.

If this out-of-school training is given to all boys, another, and in a school like the College, a more suitable, kind of scout-troop becomes possible for boys in their last two years. I mean a troop that trains them not to be scouts, but scoutmasters; that impresses on the older boys thatt a very excellent form of social service after they leave the College would be to organize and supervise scout-training, wherever they may find themselves; and that shows them before they leave the College how to set about this task. A few of my old scouts, notably Naresh Chandra Singh of Sarangarh, did take up such work with enthusiasm and perseverance; but whatever were the achievements of the College Troop under my scoutmastership, I failed to train my older scouts to be future Scoutmasters, Secretaries, and Commissioners, because I realized too late thatt this is the most important form of scout-training that a senior boy at the College should receive.

The great feature of the year 1923–24 was the wonderful response to the appeal of Sir Frank Sly to build up a new endowment fund, which would make the College independent of all Government grants. A sum of nearly nine lakhs was promised during this year and about six and a half lakhs of rupees were actually received—a truly wonderful

achievement. The amount came almost entirely from three sources. The Chhattisgarh States paid Rs. 4,69,000, the biggest subscribers being Nandgaon State one and a half lakhs, and Raigarh State one lakh. The Orissa States subscribed Rs. 3,26,520. Amongst them by far the biggest subscriber was the late Maharaja Purna Chandra Bhanj Deo of Mayurbhanj State, who gave Rs. 2,12,000. The Zemindars of the Central Provinces subscribed between them Rs. 86,420. One Zemindar of Bihar gave Rs. 1,000, and the Zemindars of Orissa nothing. Some critics tried to belittle the merit of these donations by saying thatt the bulk of the money came from States under management, whose Rulers were minors and whose contributions were, therefore, only forced levies by the political officers then in charge. People who have been stingy themselves usually say such things about the generosity of others. It is a fact thatt at this time a great number of Rulers of the Central Provinces and Orissa States happened to be minors, but that was not in any way the fault of the political officers! It is not likely thatt they would have given large sums to the College, if feeling amongst the adult relations of minor rulers had been strongly against it. The Maharaja of Mayurbhanj State, the largest single subscriber, and the Rulers of Surguja, Kanker, Sarangarh, Sakti and Nilgiri States were all large subscribers who were under no financial control. The utmost that anyone determined to detract from the merit of this great achievement can say against it is thatt, with the exception of the munificent Mayurbhanj donation, only Rs. 19,450 came from Orissa States then under Rulers with financial powers, and nothing at all from the Zemindars of Orissa and Ganjam. The reasons for lack of support from these quarters have been explained in earlier pages.

Mr. J. A. Richey, C.I.E., Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, inspected the College in March 1924. For the next 20 years, the Educational Commissioner carried out the annual inspections himself with very few years missed. Mr. Richey wrote an introduction to his report on all the Chiefs' Colleges which supported the criticisms levelled by the Firth report against the academical work of the Colleges but disagreed flatly with the charge thatt they possessed only the outward and visible signs of public-schools. I think thatt Mr. Firth was more discerning and Mr. Richey more diplomatic.

After representations had been made thatt the College would not have sufficient time in which to arrange to finance itself, if the provincial grants ceased at the end of the 1922–23 financial year, the Governments of the Central Provinces and Bihar and Orissa agreed to pay their annual grants in 1923–24 for the last time. Income

MAHARAJA PURNA CHANDRA BHANJ DEO,
Late Ruler of Mayurbhanj State

(Rs. 1,14,035), therefore, revealed a comfortable surplus over expenditure (Rs. 1,01,179) for the year.

On December 4th 1923, Mr. J. B. Kapur, now Headmaster, put in his first appearance as a housemaster. The staff of this year was: teaching masters, Messrs. Shakur, Pinge, Irshad Ali, Tripathi, Mukherjee, Gauri Shankar, and Kanetkar (drawing); non-teaching masters, Khan Muhammad Khan, Kapur and Razdan (games and grounds). This staff was insufficient to do all the teaching, and so was supplemented by tutors of whom Mr. Patnaik, the Daspalla tutor teaching Oriya, was the best teacher. Throughout the rest of Mr. Stow's principalship the permanent staff never sufficed to teach all classes without this tutorial help. This was a bad state of affairs to have been allowed to persist so long, as the average tutor was a poor teacher, he had little interest in teaching, and, if his ward was absent, so had he to be and his class suffered. The conviction was very strongly impressed on me as I made my notes for this chapter thatt the College history of the last twenty years would have been very different—and much brighter—if by 1924 at the latest the Management had put every rupee it could find into a larger, better qualified, better paid, and better found staff; and had got rid of all tutors, English and Indian. Though one or two tutors did very good work, and were very good men, *as a class* they did the College a great amount of harm. Again I speak only generally in saying thatt most men, English or Indian, who will take a tutorship at a school like the College are poor acquisitions.

The late Mahant Sarveshwar Das of Nandgaon State, College benefactor No. 1, was the only Diploma candidate. He had failed in Mathematics in 1923, but this year was first in order of merit with a first class and three distinctions.

The poor attendance at Committee meetings during the year was a sign of the hesitation in the Orissa States whether to support the College. Those Rulers were waiting to see what changes would be made in the constitution and organization of the College to satisfy their demands of the previous year.

**1924–25**

This was another important year in College history. It was the first year in which interest was earned on the new Endowment Fund, and was a very successful one financially for the College; recurring receipts being Rs. 1,19,252 and expenditure only Rs. 1,04,252.

As the Rulers and Zemindars were about to take over financial responsibility for the College, it was natural thatt the constitution

should be revised to give them the controlling interest. Effect was given to the proposals put forward by the Orissa Rulers in 1922. The Governor of the Central Provinces remained President of the General Council, but his Chief Secretary and the Deputy Commissioner of Raipur ceased to be members of either Council or Committee. The only officials on the Council were the Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division; the Director of Public Instruction, Central Provinces; and the Political Agents at Raipur and Sambalpur. All Rulers exercising ruling powers became members of the Council, and both the Central Provinces and Bihar and Orissa nominated four Zemindars each. The original Zemindars nominated were: from the Central Provinces, the Zemindars of Phuljhar, Pandaria, Komakhan, and Hatta; from Bihar and Orissa, the Zemindars of Jaria, Surajpura, and Kanika. A fourth B. and O. Zemindar does not seem to have been nominated. The Principal remained the ex-officio Secretary of both the Council and the Committee.

The new Committee consisted of four Rulers; one Zemindar each from the Central Provinces and Bihar and Orissa; the Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division; and the two Political Agents. This Committee had power to elect its own Chairman. Though the first Chairman elected was the Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division, Mr. Jatar, he was transferred in the following year and in his place the late Maharaja Purna Chandra Bhanj Deo of Mayurbhanj State was elected. From the date of that election, the Chairman of the Committee has always been a Ruler. The first Rulers to be elected on this new Committee were those of Mayurbhanj, Bonai, Sarangarh and Korea States, and the first two Zemindars, those of Phuljhar and Jaria.

Sir Frank Sly paid his farewell visit to the College on January 6th, 1925, to preside over the first meeting of the new Council, when five Rulers from the Chhattisgarh States, six from the Orissa States, and three Zemindars from the Central Provinces were present to meet him. Sir Frank Sly, who had known the College from the time of Mr. Oswell and had used his influence to the full to create the new Endowment Fund, expressed his belief in the great value of the College to the States; not only did it enable the sons of Rulers to get a good education, but it greatly helped Rulers to form friendships and to work together. He was genuinely pleased to see the Rulers now taking over the control of the College, but reminded them thatt its management would require hard, conscientious work and a spirit of co-operation; nothing could kill the College quicker than indifference.

It was decided at this meeting to drop the proposal to open Intermediate and Post-Diploma classes, a decision which I personally

much regret. It seems, however, thatt it had already been decided (I do not know by whom) to devote any spare money to the building of a Guest House, and at this meeting the Ruler of Bonai State opened the Guest House Fund with a donation of Rs. 5,000. How often in a school has the lure of bricks and mortar proved more attractive than the claims of education! There is a saying, which sticks in my memory, that a school is not a collection of buildings in which a group of school-masters work, but a group of school-masters who work with a collection of buildings round them. For the last five years, I have been longing to open post-matriculation classes at the College and have been unable to do so, because no one else wants them sufficiently to find the money. Twenty years ago many Orissa Rulers wanted these same classes and, if enough money did not exist to finance them, more could then have been collected. But Mr. Stow seemed reluctant to institute them and I did not then realize the need. The Ruler of Talcher State made one last struggle for Intermediate classes by proposing thatt no money should be spent on the guest house until they had been instituted, but he got little support.

Numbers in this year reached 54; Court of Wards boys still predominated, but each year from now on, fewer of them joined and the number of boys who had been sent voluntarily by their parents increased. The boys were arranged by classes as follows:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Class | I | ... | ... | ... | 5 |
| ,, | II | ... | ... | ... | 10 |
| ,, | III | ... | ... | ... | Nil |
| ,, | IV | ... | ... | ... | 6 |
| | Special | ... | ... | ... | 5 |
| ,, | V | ... | ... | ... | 4 |
| ,, | VI | ... | ... | ... | 8 |
| ,, | VII | ... | ... | ... | 10 |
| ,, | VIII | ... | ... | ... | 6 |

Mr. Stow's special class was for backward boys considered too old to work in a class, for which they were intellectually fit. There were many boys during this decade far too old for the classes in which they were placed, partly because they had had no proper education before admission and partly because they had been admitted at too old an age. More will be said on this subject later in the chapter.

The Diploma results were again good; five boys appeared for and passed the examination, two in the first-class, two in the second, and one in the third. They secured the first, second, third, seventh and twenty-first places. It was in this year thatt Mr. Stow started what he called a 'modified' Dalton System, which was tried for three

or four years but with little success. The failure seems to have been due to three main causes. Too many boys had not enough intellectual ability and curiosity to work properly on their own. Secondly, half-measures rarely succeed. Mr. Stow's modified Dalton System was neither the Dalton System nor class teaching, but a combination of both that did not mix well. Thirdly, a school with such small classes as existed in 1925 has much less need of the Dalton System than a school possessing large classes of fairly uniform ability. Individual attention, a very important feature of the Dalton System, could be given quite easily to the College classes even under a system of class teaching. I might add thatt nothing could have been more contradictory than the Dalton System during class hours with the emphasis strongly on a boy's working for himself and the system which then existed in the College during the hours of home-work, when every boy, who could afford a tutor, had one sitting at his elbow paid to solve his every difficulty, however small. Mr. R. Littlehailes, Educational Commissioner, made his first inspection of the College in 1925; in all he inspected the College five times and was the author of very important recommendations in the year 1929, which will be referred to later on. The chief feature of his first inspection was the decision to have the Diploma Science syllabus revised.

Mr. Anant Ram, the present Headclerk, joined the College service in June 1924 and, therefore, has now worked in the College office for nearly 22 years. Mr. Mohammad Khan left the College to become Diwan of Makrai State, thereby greatly weakening the athletic ability of the staff. His place as Housemaster was taken by Mr. G. C. Kapur, a member of the Bihar and Orissa Education Service, lent on foreign service.

Not only at this time, but on many occasions during the last half of Mr. Stow's principalship, references occur to the danger of staff-stagnation and the possible steps that might be taken to prevent this danger. In a small school, promotion must normally be slow, and if the members of the staff have no opportunities to better themselves elsewhere, there is a danger thatt they will become stale and unenthusiastic and take very little interest in anything except drawing their pay. This is the danger which Mr. Stow was obviously frequently thinking about.

A residential school like the College must pay much better salaries to its staff than masters in day-schools get, who have little to do beyond the teaching of their classes. Success is unattainable without a good well-paid staff. But the number of such residential schools in India is very small. The result is thatt a master in the College finds it

exceedingly difficult to get a better post outside *within his own profession*. Nor can the Chhattisgarh and Orissa States offer him attractive educational employment. Are all competent masters then to stay at the College all their working lives? This would be good neither for them nor for the College. But if not, where are they to go? This is even today a real problem, though there is now more hope of the creation of attractive educational posts. In Mr. Stow's time, no satisfactory solution was found so thatt, though he was alive to the need to find one, he failed to assuage discontent.

His first plan was to get all posts on the staff included in the C.P. educational cadre, so thatt all College masters would have been pensionable Government servants. They could then have been transferred to and from the College without loss of pay and prospects. This arrangement might have suited those masters who valued security of service above everything else, but would have been disastrous to the College. The reasons are fairly obvious and need not be stated, because the C.P. Government rejected the proposal.

Then came the plan of one cadre for all the Chiefs' Colleges. As most masters in the older Chiefs' Colleges were Government servants, this plan, if adopted, would have involved all masters' receiving that status. The other Colleges have during the last decade found thatt they had no future as efficient schools, until they got rid of Government servants from their staffs, so the College may count itself lucky thatt this plan also was rejected.

Next came the plan of giving long-term engagements to some masters and short-term ones to others. The idea was thatt the College should have some elderly masters, who would provide continuity, experience, and ballast, so to speak; and some young ones to provide vigour, enthusiasm and new blood. This plan operated longer under me than under Mr. Stow, so I can pronounce on it with some authority. Supposing thatt all the young men come for five years, the plan works excellently for that period. But what is the Principal to do at the end of that period with a young man who has put in five years of first-rate service and can find no other educational post to take, which will not cut his salary nearly by half? If he keeps him on because he is a good man, the plan breaks down; if he turns him out, he feels a brute and is greatly discouraging the next man who will feel thatt, however well or badly he does his work, his fate will be the same. A young graduate after five years of service in the College, has lost his last chance of service under Government. Government has very rarely consented to take an experienced College master into service, with a seniority that his age and experience deserve.

Lastly, Mr. Stow tried the plan of employing Government servants on deputation. The College has usually paid their Government pay plus 40% (the maximum extra pay allowed) and their leave and pension contributions. There have been many Government servants on the staff in the last twenty years on these terms. Messrs. Shakur, Tripathi, Naik, Gauri Shankar, G. C. Kapur, and Varma are some of them; so I have had plenty of opportunity of testing the merit of this arrangement. It works well only under certain conditions. It is the best arrangement for filling a post temporarily; for example, when a permanent master takes study-leave; or for filling a new post, until such time as it is decided whether this post is required permanently. But it is one open to many objections as the normal method of filling clear vacancies on the staff. The Government servant on deputation is never the College's 'man', he is Government's 'man'. His future lies in Government, not College, service. If he stays at the College for more than a short period, he will lose his place in the race for promotion. The better and more ambitious that he is, the sooner he wants to be off. In fact, it is probably true thatt the best schoolmasters in Government service do not think that a deputation to the College is in their interest. Apart from the question of future prospects, these men, coming from day-schools, find thatt they have to work longer hours and maintain a higher standard of living. Moreover, in recent years, the salaries of the College's own staff have been raised to figures higher than those earned by many Government servants even after 40% has been added to their Government pay. The latter have, therefore, found themselves doing the same work as the former for less money. My conclusion is thatt no solution of the problem of staff-stagnation in the College can be found by borrowing masters from provincial educational services. To do so for short periods may sometimes be a convenience, but it is now becoming harder rather than easier to find men willing to come, who are worth having.

### 1925–26

This seemed to be a very satisfactory year, though storm-clouds were gathering. Full interest on the New Endowment Fund was received, and recurring receipts totalled Rs. 1,18,594 against an expenditure of only Rs. 99,045. Mr. Ramsbotham, Principal of Hooghly College, inspected the College in March 1926 and wrote a report glowing with praise. The Diploma results were the best ever achieved. Four boys secured the first four places, all got first-classes, one got distinction-marks in every subject, and two scored more marks than any candidate has secured in this examination either before or—I

believe—since. Their results were almost too good to be true! The infant prodigies were Dongar Singh of Komakhan, Profulla Chandra Bhanj Deo of Mayurbhanj, Hari Saran Singh of Korea, and Srishesh Pratap Singh of Dhenkanal.

Numbers, if they did not rise, at least kept steady at 54, and four new boys out of nine were sent voluntarily by their parents.

The Maharaja of Mayurbhanj became the first Ruler-Chairman of the Committee, and His Highness the then Maharaja of Manipur State presented three tennis courts. All these events were matters for rejoicing, and there was one more—my first leave in England—which rejoiced me particularly. My place was taken by Mr. L. G. D'Silva, at the present time Director of Public Instruction, Central Provinces; and Mr. A. W. Forbes helped also in my absence in and out of class.

Outwardly, there were only two clouds on the horizon. One was the enormous recurring cost and very rapid depreciation of the electric light plant that the Maharaja of Surguja had presented in 1920 and to which I have already referred on pages 83 and 84. At this time Raipur City was planning to have an electrical supply of its own, so negotiations were begun with a view to taking energy from that source and scrapping the battery of cells which were too expensive to maintain. The other cloud was the water supply. Up to well into my own principalship, the College depended on the city for its water, and from about 1921 onwards it depended less and less confidently. The College unfortunately lay at the very end of the pipe-line; new connections in the city were given recklessly; and the College supply grew less and less. It was very scanty in 1925–26, it became so bad later on thatt lack of water threatened to close the College, and, after I had become Principal, there was no alternative to shutting down but to spend tens of thousands of rupees on the development of its own water-supply.

In January 1926, a conference of representatives of the Government of India and the Chiefs' Colleges was held to consider the future recruitment of English masters in these Colleges. Up to this time, all Englishmen serving in them had been Government of India servants belonging to the Chiefs' Colleges cadre of the Indian Educational Service. They were all liable to transfer from one College to another, and several of them had been transferred. The essential feature of the arrangement was thatt Government, not the Colleges, appointed the Principals, Vice-Principals, and English assistant masters. This College went to the Conference with a very strong recommendation thatt this arrangement should continue. I regard it as most fortunate

thatt its recommendation was rejected. Instead, it was decided (in 1927–28) thatt recruitment to the cadre should cease, thatt in future each College should be free to choose its own Principal and English staff, and thatt there should be no transfer of an existing member of the cadre except by mutual agreement between the two Colleges concerned. Government was, in short, beginning to devolve responsibility on to the Governing Bodies of the Colleges and continued to do so, by stages, during the next fifteen years.

A school cannot be properly managed when some members of its staff are the servants of some other authority. Events now occurred which were to show the College Council the truth of this statement. First, Mr. Stow was promoted to the selection grade of the cadre and became entitled to a considerable increase of salary. Then the Lee Commission report was accepted by Government with the result thatt both he and I became entitled to 'overseas pay' (Rs. 4,800 p.a., for each of us), and in addition the College had to pay passage contributions (about Rs. 600 p.a., for each of us). Because we were Government, not College, servants, and because the Secretary of State in Whitehall had sanctioned an increase of pay for the class of servant to which we belonged, the College was suddenly forced either to pay us a large extra sum of money annually, whether it could afford the money or not, whether it had more urgent uses for that money or not, or to get rid of one of us. But it could not even get rid of either of us without the consent of Government, as we had been recruited to work in Chiefs' Colleges, the Raipur College had agreed to take us, and Government might have said thatt there were no other suitable posts vacant. Nevertheless, in my opinion the Council or Committee ought to have insisted in this year thatt the College could not afford this large and sudden, extra, financial burden. It did say so in 1930; if Mr. Stow had not been appointed to Ajmer in that year, I should have had to leave the College instead of him. But the 1930 ultimatum was five years too late. It should have been foreseen in 1926 thatt too much was being asked of the College.

No school ought to feel happy whilst its finances and staffing arrangements are so much at the mercy of an outside authority; thatt a school should desire to remain at the mercy of that authority seems to me incredible.

The 'extras' mentioned above were not all that the College had to pay for its two English Government servants in addition to their salaries. It had to pay their leave and pension contributions also. In 1925–26 these amounted in all to over Rs. 6,000 a year. But at least it can be said thatt the College did its utmost to be relieved of

these contributions, though its efforts were unsuccessful. None of the other Chiefs' Colleges paid them on behalf of their English Staffs, but the Government of India resolutely refused to forgo them in favour of this College in spite of almost annual requests to do so. Government took its stand on the condition made in 1921 (see page 88), when it recognized the College as a Chiefs' College, thatt recognition should not involve Government in any extra expense. If I may anticipate events which belong to the very end of this Chapter and to Chapter V, the College had to pay Mr. Stow's leave and pension contribution till he left in 1931. It was not officially excused from paying mine until 1938, though in fact what it paid on that account from 1931 to 1938 was considerably less than the annual grant made by Government to it during those years.

These are the kind of things that may happen to a school, all of whose employees are not its own servants. From this year onwards Mr. Stow and I became increasingly embarrassing employees on account of our very high cost to the College. Had we been servants of the College, it could have saved itself a large sum of money and still paid us, or men as good as we, attractive salaries; had we made out a good case for an increase of salary, it could have calculated the amount of increase that it could afford and chosen the opportune time at which to grant it. It would never have decided suddenly to increase its annual salary bill by twelve or thirteen thousand rupees without very careful consideration who and what also had a claim on the money.

It must be remembered thatt at this time, for several years previously, and during the succeeding six or seven years, the Indian Staff kept on complaining about its conditions of service. From time to time members of it obtained some increases of pay, but again and again the Committee put off a thorough reorganization of its terms of service (especially time-scales of pay) on the plea of lack of funds. The College had just raised a large new endowment fund. Both in 1924–25 and 1925–26 income had exceeded expenditure comfortably. The hopes of the Indian staff must have been high. Then suddenly —out of a blue sky as it were—came 'a firman,' and two Englishmen 'scooped the pool'. It was one of those results all the more unfortunate and regrettable, because it was no one's fault; but, in contrast, one of the best results of my coming retirement will be thatt the whole staff from the Principal downwards will at last be the servants of the College alone.

1926–27

Things now began to go obviously wrong, many of them for reasons that have been already noted. The next quinquennium was a very unsatisfactory period in the history of the College.

Numbers slowly but steadily dropped from 54 in 1926 to 42 in 1931. While receipts fell slightly year by year, expenditure increased. For reasons just explained, the increase of expenditure in 1926–27 over that in 1925–26 was Rs. 16,647. The budget in 1926–27 was just balanced, but the following four years showed deficits. In 1930–31, it was as much as Rs. 14,382 and the College could no longer pay its way. Compared to the 'smashing' Diploma results of 1925–26, those of the next five years seemed very poor. No boy in them got a first place or even a first class, two boys failed, and in both 1928 and 1930 there was no candidate fit to take the examination. This poor showing was due partly to much keener competition; and partly to the examination's having been made more difficult. But I feel thatt it was also due to a deterioration in the work of the staff, and to some sacrifice of efficiency in order to save money. Classes were first reduced from eight to seven, and then to only six, mainly, I think, to economize on staff. The reduction could not be justified on academical grounds.

It was strongly and rightly criticized by Raja Sree Ram Chandra Singh of Kharaswan, who during the seven years beginning with 1926–27 took great interest in the College and fought many fights to get his way. I think thatt some of his plans were right and some wrong, but even if one thought them all to be wrong, one would have to acknowledge him to have been a sincere, persistent, and constructive critic. His first proposals came in 1926–27 when he demanded a better system of religious instruction, a Temple inside the grounds and a religious instructor. He pressed also for more Oriya-speaking masters, and for a scheme of post-Diploma training for fatherless Rajkumars. No Ruler, I think, has ever advocated a more important development of the College education than this one of post-matriculation courses. He seems to have realized better than many members of the Council even today the ease and speed, with which any good done to an unprotected boy could be undone as soon as he left the College, and the essential unfitness of the average boy to leave the College before the age of 18. My very cordial agreement with these views of the Ruler of Kharsawan State has been expressed in later chapters of this book.

Another unsatisfactory feature of this quinquennium was the tone of the boys. I have already written about my disappointments with my scouts, culminating in what I took to be a vote of no-confidence

in the value of scout-training from several parents. Mr. Stow restarted the prefect system in 1926–27, which had been in abeyance since the disciplinary troubles of the 1921–22 period. They were given privileges as well as responsibilities (I think, I may claim, largely as a result of my persuasion), they were encouraged and persevered with, and some of them were extremely nice boys. Nevertheless, they showed as a whole very little power of leadership, very little readiness to face unpopularity, very little conception thatt it was not enough for prefects merely themselves to behave well. The tone of the school was low and neither staff, tutors, nor prefects, did much to raise it.

The school was still suffering in full from the colossal anti-educational traditions that it had inherited, all antipathetic to the growth of a healthy communal spirit. Fifty boys in 1926–27 had 130 private servants; all ate their meals in separate kitchens with their servants; admissions were strictly confined to one class; several boys lived with masters or in private houses; tutors 'ground their axes' in many places. Perhaps the worst feature of this period was the retention of boys in classes for which they were far too old. Whether Mr. Stow kept them on for other better reasons or only in an attempt to keep numbers up and so fee-income, I do not feel competent to say. But the fact is thatt, in 1927–28 for instance, two boys in Class II were 19 and 20, two in Class III 18 and 20, one in both Class IV and Class V 18, one in Class VI 17, two in Class VII 15 and 16, and one in Class VIII 15. These 'young men' in classes meant for young boys were bound to depress the tone of the school.

Lastly, I call attention to a small point in itself, but a very significant one, I think. Between January 1st 1928 and February 11th 1930, a period of nearly 26 months, the Committee met only thrice and the Council once. The College was left to stew in its own juice.

And yet—as has happened more than once in its history—while the College was failing to win boys, success, or appreciation, it could still get money. Eight Orissa Rulers and the Zemindar of Dharakota subscribed Rs. 40,260 in 1926–27 to build the Guest House which has been an invaluable acquisition; and four Chhattisgarh and four Orissa Rulers, all recent students, subscribed Rs. 1,350 to improve the equipment in the Science Laboratory.

The other main events of the year 1926–27 can be told shortly.

Numbers totalled 50, 21 from the Central Provinces, 19 from Orissa, 3 each from Bihar and Assam, 2 each from Madras and Bengal.

Receipts were Rs. 1,15,740 against expenditure Rs. 1,15,692.

Mr. Dix, Deputy Director of Public Instruction, Central Provinces,

inspected the College. There were three Diploma candidates who passed 3rd, 4th, and 14th. The first two secured second classes, and the third a third class.

Mr. Stow was on leave for most of the year and I officiated. A notable appointment to the staff was that of Mr. S. K. Shrivastava (now Rai Sahib) who replaced Mr. G. C. Kapur as Housemaster. Though Rai Sahib Srivastava served on the College staff for only five years, he has had a very distinguished career as a Diwan in several States since 1931. I think thatt he is the first person whom I ever appointed on my own to the staff, as he was appointed while Mr. Stow was on leave; I feel proud of my first selection.

1927–28

The difficulties and anxieties of the period of which this year forms a part have been explained. It remains only to record the events peculiar to this year.

Numbers totalled 49. No boys sat for the Diploma Examination. Mr. Littlehailes inspected the College for the second time without making any really valuable recommendations. Receipts totalled Rs. 1,13,566 and expenditure Rs. 1,20,642, the first of four consecutive and serious deficits. Mr. J. B. Kapur ceased to be a Housemaster and took over the teaching of Science (to be his main subject up to the present date) from Mr. Irshad Ali who resigned. Mr. Bhagwant Rao joined the office staff; he was destined to work in the College office for 18 years, during 13 of which he was Head Clerk. A new Committee was elected, the members being the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj and the Rajas of Sarangarh, Korea, and Kharsawan, the Thakur of Jaria and Lal Artratan Deo of Khariar. It was decided to take electric energy from the new supply in Raipur City using a converter to change the supply into direct current. A Temple Building Fund had been opened in 1926–27 and attracted the very generous total of Rs. 28,500. The Chhattisgarh States, as usual, gave most, Rs. 15,400; the Orissa States Rs. 5,300; the Rani Sahibas of Bodakhimidi, Ganjam, Rs. 4,900; Bihar Zemindars Rs. 1,500 and the C.P. Zemindars Rs. 1,400. There was an offer from the Bodakhimidi Rani Sahibas to establish a maintenance fund of Rs. 12,500, if the temple was named after them or their Estate. But this had to be rejected as many other people were interested in and had subscribed to the Temple Fund; so the Rani Sahibas reduced their donation to Rs. 4,900, and the College has always borne the maintenance charges.

Who the architect was who designed the College Temple, I have never known. Though the rude comment thatt it was "characteristic

of all that is most decadent in Indian Art" was probably one meant rather to raise a laugh than to be taken literally, no one, I think, can deny thatt the exterior is ugly in shape, fussy over detail, and unpractical, as all flat-roofed buildings in Raipur are. The interior, however, has always seemed to me simple, restful, and pleasing.

The building of the Temple was one of the steps taken during the year to meet the demands of the Raja of Kharsawan for a better system of religious instruction. The other measures taken were similar to those for which the Yuvaraj of Seraikela had asked in 1922 and on which I have already commented on pages 89–91. A religious instructor was to be appointed; each class was to have 40 minutes of religious instruction on one day a week and a 30 minute sermon on Sundays; and there was to be an annual examination in religious knowledge, on the result of which prizes were to be awarded. The improvement in the tone of the school effected by these measures was 'nil'.

1928–29.

A very sad event of this year was the death of Maharaja Purna Chandra Bhanj Deo of Mayurbhanj, the first Ruler-Chairman of the Committee and the munificent donor of Rs. 2,12,000 to the New Endowment Fund. The late Raja Bahadur of Sarangarh took his place as Chairman, and the vacancy on the Committee was filled by Raja Narayan Prasad Deo, C.B.E., of Baudh. The Raja of Kharsawan, still feeling dissatisfied with the condition of the College, resigned from the Committee but was induced to withdraw his resignation.

Mr. Littlehailes inspected the College for the third of his five times. Four of his reports were of very little constructive value, and I remember thinking at the time of his inspections thatt they seemed very perfunctory. This report, however, published in 1929 was, in my opinion, the most valuable one that any inspector has yet written. As Mr. Firth's report of 1923 stung the Colleges into action to set their class-instruction in order, so Mr. Littlehailes's report of 1929 first brought home to them what an educational expert thought of their domestic arrangements. He commented very freely on the undesirability of private servants, motamids and tutors; of separate dining arrangements; of boys of different ages living together; of great differences of age between boys in the same class; of staff-stagnation; and, above all, of restricting admissions to one class only. 'I am at a loss to comprehend how we can in the Chiefs' Colleges pretend to give a true public-school education when some of the essentials of that education are absent.' Again, 'It would be to the educational good

of the community in India in general, not only in Indian States but in British India also, if the restrictions regarding admissions were relaxed so that the son of a landowner might rub shoulders in his education with sons of members of the upper middle or higher classes in India.' And in his final paragraph (which did not apply to Raipur) 'I do think that since these grants (i.e., to Chiefs' Colleges) are given from public funds, a wider public than the Ruling Princes and Chiefs . . . should be able to gain admission to these institutions.' This report by Mr. Littlehailes dated August 11th, 1929 made up finally for me my mind about what I should attempt to do if ever I became Principal. The whole of my principalship can be considered as an attempt to carry out his recommendations.

Two old servants of the College resigned in 1928, Mr. Razdan, Grounds and Games Superintendent, and Jawahir Singh, Drill Instructor. The latter received a gratuity in recognition of long, faithful, service. The most important new-comer was Mr. A. K. Das who was the second master appointed in the time of Mr. Stow, who has served the College throughout my principalship. Mr. G. R. Naidu, a very good all-round athlete, took Mr. Razdan's place. Later on, in my principalship, he went to the Mayo College where he is still serving.

Numbers totalled 50, but there were only seven classes. Every class continued to contain boys much too old for it. For instance, there were boys of 18 in Class VI and of 15 and 14 in Classes VII and VIII. Four boys sat for and passed the Diploma examination, all in the second class, gaining 8th, 11th, 12th, and 18th places in order of merit. Three of the boys were 19 years of age, the other 18. One of them, Naresh Chandra Singh, whose father, the late Raja Bahadur of Sarangarh, has been such a great supporter of the College, has always been a very good friend to it himself, was the first representative of the Old Boys on the Council, and has very kindly added his reminiscences of his school-days to the end of this chapter.

The epidemic of financial deficits continued, receipts being only Rs. 1,12,687 against expenditure of Rs. 1,16,728. The slow but steady drop in receipts during these years was caused mainly by loss of school fees.

The inadequacy of the Raipur City water-supply, already mentioned on page 107, was now becoming extremely serious. No action, however, was taken to develop other sources of supply at this time, because there was no money.

1929–30.

The outstanding event of this year was a very important meeting of the Committee in February 1930, the first meeting of either Council or Committee to be held since January 1929. I had been on leave from May 1929 to February 1930 and returned just in time to attend the meeting as an observer, because Mr. Stow was intending to take leave himself in 1930. It was the first Committee meeting, but by no means the last, that lasted more than one day.

The chief business was of three kinds; financial action demanded by four consecutive deficit budgets, proposals to improve academical and boarding-house organization, and consideration of Mr. Littlehailes's recommendations of 1929. The meeting was attended by the Rulers of Sarangarh, Kharsawan, and Korea States, the Thakur of Jaria, the Zemindar of Khariar, the Political Agent, Chhattisgarh States, and Mr. Stow. The College came in for a good deal of attack and the leader of 'the offensive' was the Ruler of Kharsawan State.

The financial position was now serious; there had been big deficits in 1927–28 and 1928–29. Receipts in 1929–30 were Rs. 1,10,099 and expenditure Rs. 1,11,788. A much bigger deficit was expected in 1930–31. However, it was decided to carry on and to effect no economies that might reduce efficiency. It was still hoped thatt the Government of India might relinquish its claim to leave and pension contributions on behalf of Principal and Vice-Principal. But it was definitely decided thatt, if by July 1st 1930 the Government of India had not agreed to waive these contributions, the College should cease to employ more than one I.E.S. officer. As I should, of course, have been the one first to go, this decision made my position on the staff in 1930 very uncertain. A reference back to page 108 will reveal thatt, so far as I could view the decision objectively, I did not quarrel with it. My only criticism is thatt it ought to have been reached in 1927, not in 1930.

After the Ruler of Kharsawan State had expressed his opinion thatt several Orissa States might be too dissatisfied to help the College financially, the Rulers of Sarangarh and Korea States guaranteed thatt the Chhattisgarh States, come what might, would contribute at least Rs. 5,000 to help to balance the 1930–31 budget.

Nearly all the proposals for improvement of class-room and boarding-house organization came from the Ruler of Kharsawan State. I have divided them into two groups, the proposals that I approved of and those that I deplored. But any open-minded observer at the meeting would have had to admit, however much he disagreed with him, thatt the Raja Sahib proved himself to be a very courageous, persevering, and constructive critic.

The Raja Sahib was right, in my opinion, when he demanded thatt the College should give up the year-by-year engagement of boys' private tutors to help teach classes, which had been adopted only because it was a cheap arrangement, and should rely entirely on a large enough permanent staff of its own; thatt it should contain at least two masters qualified and employed to teach Oriya; thatt nothing should be done which gave cause for suspicion thatt boys missed promotion owing to a desire to bolster up numbers; and, above all, thatt the College should have eight classes as it used to have, and not try to economize by having only six. All these demands were accepted except the one concerning the engagement of private tutors to teach, on which the Raja Sahib was defeated by a small majority. On the other hand, I think thatt the Raja Sahib was very retrograde in persuading the Committee to allow any parent, who did not want his son to live in a boarding-house, not only to arrange for him to live outside with a master or private tutor, but also to build accommodation for his son in the grounds. There might have arisen a number of buildings not belonging to the College, over the use and maintenance of which many embarrassing disputes could have occurred; fortunately, the only buildings actually built under this rule were two bedrooms added on to the Principal's house, which in 1945 became College guest-rooms.

I have referred earlier in this chapter to the lack of appreciation of the value of scout-training and other out-of-school activities which was shown at this time. It was another of the Raja Sahib's demands, which, I think, showed a wrong conception of the meaning of real education, thatt anything that interfered with 'progress in regular studies' (meaning no more than academical preparation to pass the Diploma examination) should be optional (meaning thatt most boys ought to avoid it). The Raja Sahib nearly succeeded in having morning exercise made optional; he did succeed in having scouting, boxing, carpentry, and gardening so treated, and thereby, as I have already explained, induced me to feel thatt ten years of scouting in the College had been a sad waste of much of my time.

The third demand of the Raja Sahib, that seems to me to have been unwise, also seems hard to explain. He persuaded the Committee thatt the College ought to prepare boys for the C.P. High School Leaving Certificate examination as well as for the Diploma. It is hard to see what the advantage of this plan was, as all Indian Universities recognized the Diploma 'A' course (which most College boys took) as equivalent to matriculation. To prepare for two examinations of equal status would have required extra masters and cost, at

a time when money was very scarce. I must confess thatt I do not remember what the arguments in favour of this plan were, and they are not on record; it may be thatt a wrong impression had been fostered by opponents of the College thatt the Diploma Examination was of too low a standard. But the point is unimportant, as, though the Committee sanctioned preparation for two examinations, no boy in Class I ever actually sat for any examination except the Diploma until 1942, when the Cambridge School Certificate took its place.

When Mr. Littlehailes's recommendations came up for consideration, two protagonists revealed themselves, the Ruler of Kharsawan State in favour of doing what Mr. Littlehailes had advised and the Ruler of Korea State against. The main struggle was over the admission of boys of other than Raj-families to the College. Opinion was divided and the question was referred to the Council which took several years, before it could make up its mind. However, the Ruler of Kharsawan State, in my opinion, rendered great service by persuading the Committee to carry out some of the other recommendations.

Joint messes were to be started for boys of the same caste. They were to feed in rooms in a boarding-house instead of in their kitchens. Private servants in consequence could and might be reduced, and College servants could be engaged to take the place of private ones. All small boys were to live in a separate boarding-house. A new boy too old to take a place in a class suited to his age should not be placed in any class to start with, but should be coached by a special tutor for whom his parents must pay extra. The salaries of the Indian staff should be raised 'as soon as financial conditions permit'. This familiar phrase did not on this occasion mean, as it had so often done in the past, 'Never'; it meant, 'as soon as Mr. Stow or I had left the College service'. Some appointments were to be for long terms and some for short. This policy has already been discussed on page 105. All new masters were to be on probation for one year and, if the Principal dispensed with their services after confirmation, he was to report to the Committee. It should be noted, in passing, thatt throughout Mr. Stow's time he had the power to get rid of any master without reference or appeal to anyone.

All these decisions were steps in the right direction; they did not move the College very far, because no reform regarding lodging, messing, and servants might be forced on an unwilling parent; but if it is true thatt it is the first step that counts, these decisions were of first-rate importance. They were also prudent because they were not so drastic as to alarm the majority of parents.

This very important Committee meeting was followed by another

at Sarangarh one month later at which I was not present. Nor was the Raja of Kharsawan who was still not satisfied with the management of the College. The meeting confirmed the decisions of the previous month, especially the one to invite donations from States to cover the anticipated deficit in 1930–31; and decided to invite both His Excellency the Viceroy and the Governor of Bihar and Orissa to visit the College.

The remaining events of this year can be recorded shortly. Numbers dropped to 46, there were only six classes, and very old boys were still reading even in junior classes; for instance, one of 19 in Class IV, one of 17 in Class V, and one of 16 in Class VIII. Mr. Littlehailes again inspected the College. Four boys passed the Diploma examination, occupying 8th, 11th, 12th and 18th places. One boy failed.

A most excellent appointment to the staff was that of Mr. S. N. Kunzru, who for the next sixteen years rendered invaluable service and for whose qualities both as a schoolmaster and as a man I have very great admiration. The superior Indian staff of this year consisted of Messrs. Shakur, Pinge, Mukherjee, Kapur, Das, Kar as teaching masters; Messrs. Srivastava and Kunzru as housemasters; Mr. Kanetkar, artmaster; Pandit Somnath, shastri; Mr. Naidu, grounds superintendent; and Kaluram Thakur, doctor.

**1930–31.**

Mr. Stow went on leave from the end of April to the end of November 1930 and I officiated for him for the third time.

The great events of the year were the visit in December of the then Viceroy, Lord Irwin, now (1946) Lord Halifax; and the invitation to Mr. Stow to become Principal of the Mayo College, Ajmer, which he accepted. Lord Irwin's visit was the very tonic that a rather anaemic College needed. It attracted a large number of Rulers, Zemindars, and Old Boys, many of whom had been cold-shouldering the College of late. No fewer than 24 members attended the Council meeting on December 8th. It inspired yet another outburst of generosity from Rulers and Zemindars. This was the third occasion in College history when they came forward magnanimously in order to help it out of those troubles which donations can cure. The Irwin Endowment Fund was opened and within twenty-four hours nearly a lakh of rupees had been promised. This fund eventually totalled Rs. 1,61,050. The Chhattisgarh States subscribed Rs. 82,200, the Orissa States Rs. 66,550, the C.P. Zemindars Rs. 6,800 and the Bihar Zemindars Rs. 5,500. The Rulers of Nandgaon, Bastar, Mayurbhanj, Raigarh, Jashpur,

Kalahandi, and Surguja States, all gave Rs. 10,000 each. The Viceroy's visit was followed closely by an announcement thatt from 1931, for at least a period of five years, the Government of India would make an annual grant to the College. As Mr. Stow was going to Ajmer, his leave and pension contribution would cease to be a charge on the College funds. Mine would continue to be, but would be more than covered by the grant, which in fact averaged about Rs. 9,000 a year. For these reasons I think thatt it can be said thatt a Viceroy's visit has seldom benefited a school more.

The Council, which had not met for two years, met on the day after the Viceroy's visit with a record attendance. It was decided to devote the interest from the Irwin Endowment Fund to general revenues, so thatt there really would at last be enough money to improve the salaries, and increase the strength, of the Indian staff. The question of opening the doors of the College to boys of other classes was debated for the first time, but the President ruled thatt there were not sufficient members in favour of the proposal to justify the Council in making a big constitutional change. The question of preparing boys for two final examinations was also reviewed and it was decided thatt the second one should be the matriculation examination of Patna University instead of that of Nagpur. It seems thatt several members thought thatt boys would be able to finish their College course quicker if they prepared for the Patna Matriculation instead of for the Diploma. Here was an instance of the widespread but mistaken idea thatt a boy should leave a school at an examination instead of at an age. Finally, the Council decided—I am very glad to say!—thatt, as the College finances had so greatly improved, I need not go. Lord Irwin's visit, therefore, meant much to me personally.

The Committee met twice in December 1930 and March 1931. At one of those meetings I presume thatt it was decided to appoint me as Principal in Mr. Stow's place; but there is no record of such a decision and, to the best of my recollection, I never received any appointment order!

At the December meeting, the Ruler of Kharsawan State returned to the attack. He asked for a stop to be put to the teaching of classes by private tutors; for affiliation to a University; for teaching up to intermediate standard; for a Diploma examination twice a year; for Hindi as the medium of instruction in junior classes; for the teaching of Sanskrit as an optional subject; for better dining-room accommodation; and for improvement of conditions of service of the Indian staff. He got very little of what he wanted at this meeting, but what he said gave me a very clear idea of the criticisms that I must endeavour to meet when I

became Principal. The Rulers of Korea and Baudh States put in a strong request for the revival of the Scout troop, which had ceased to function after the meetings of February and March 1930.

As Principal-designate I attended the Committee meeting in March 1931. Though the question of the new conditions of service of the staff was yet again postponed, it was decided to create one new teaching post (so thatt no tutors need be asked to teach) and two posts of assistant housemaster. The latter were to teach part-time in addition to living in the boarding-houses and helping the housemasters.

It was also decided to recruit a new Vice-Principal from England, his terms of service were fixed, and Mr. Richey, C.I.E., and Mr. Mayhew, C.I.E., both retired members of the I.E.S., were requested to constitute themselves as the selection board in England.

Though a healthy financial position was now about to be restored and the staff once again could indulge in hopes of better conditions, the other events of the year gave no cause for optimism. Numbers by April 1931 had dropped to 42. Expenditure totalled Rs. 1,23,780 against an income of only Rs. 1,09,398. A fairly mild measles epidemic closed the College in January 1931. The Diploma results were, however, a little better than they had been during the previous four years. Five boys passed in the second division, securing 3rd, 4th, 5th, 14th, and 17th places in order of merit.

Mr. Stow, therefore, had the disappointment of leaving the College at a time when it was far from being in the flourishing condition, for which he had worked so long and so hard. But he now has the satisfaction of knowing thatt almost his last official act as Principal was one of his most successful ones. There were a large number of vacancies on the staff to be filled. Mr. Srivastava resigned to start his career in the Chhattisgarh and Orissa States by taking a post in Kawardha State. A new master was required to do the teaching work that I had done as Vice-Principal. New posts had been created for a teaching master and two assistant housemasters. Mr. Stow made an excellent selection for four of these five posts with the result thatt Messrs. Raghoraj Singh, Gadre, Sovani and Mahapatro joined the staff. Two have been in the College service ever since; Mr. Raghoraj Singh, after seven years of valuable service, resigned to take up State service and at present is a Rao Sahib and the Diwan of Surguja State. Mr. Mahapatro did not serve so long, but he also did good work and also resigned to enter State service. He is now Diwan of Kanker State.

Though these masters never worked under Mr. Stow, and though

I, as the next Principal, had a good deal to do with their selection, they were appointed by Mr. Stow, he took the responsibility of choosing them, and the credit for the choice belongs mainly to him. I am very thankful to him for starting me off with such a good batch of young masters.

On July 1st 1931, Mr. Stow handed over charge to me. On December 20th the Council, consisting of 12 members, unanimously passed the following resolution: 'The General Council desires to place on record its appreciation of the services of Mr. V. A. S. Stow, M.A., late Principal of this College, over a period of nineteen years, and directs that a copy of this resolution be sent to him with its best wishes and grateful thanks.' So passed a dynamic actor from the College stage.

* * * * *

This chapter ends with an account of his schooldays kindly written by Naresh Chandra Singh, the present Ruler of Sarangarh State.

'I have been asked by Mr. Smith Pearse to write an account of the College as I knew it. I was at the College from 1919 to 1929, and though so long a time has elapsed, I still have vivid memories of the full and happy life I led there.

I first heard of the existence of the College from the present Raja of Keonjhar and his brother Janardan when on a visit to Sarangarh. The glorious pictures they drew of the College life filled me with a desire to go there and my delight was only tempered by nervousness when father decided I should go to the College.

I left home with my tutor, Mehta, and on arrival I found myself in a bigger and busier world—at first in the Boarding House, then shifted to the Vice-Principal's bungalow. I later went to the Manor House when for a short period my guardian was Mr. Pugh. Later Alex Forbes took charge and was over five years with me, in fact until I passed my Diploma. He was a regular officer, invalided out because of a serious wound received in the World War I. He treated me, his first ward, like a young brother and we got on very well. He has since been employed by the political authorities as guardian to many of my friends and Rulers, in this order: the present Rulers of Baramba (Orissa), Kawardha (C.P.), Khairagarh and his brother, "Bikky", Kanker, Udaipur, and Jashpur (Chhattisgarh States). He was keen on games and refereed most of the hockey and football games. At cricket a useful bat, though his bowling I looked on as "tripe"! He also started boxing in the College and was ready to take classes when asked to do so. My only "grouse" at the time was that he would not do my home work for me! I meet him from time to time, though all too infrequently. He seems as young and carefree as of old and his hair (both of them) has not turned grey.

And now to the daily life we led at the College. At 6.30 a.m., the bell rang and we fell in by divisions, of which there were three. Each division would have different forms of exercise daily, either riding, drill,

gymnastics, or boxing. This latter was entirely voluntary, but most boys took it up with enthusiasm. After exercise, we bathed and dressed and then breakfasted.

After a short interval, we had roll-call in the main hall followed by a short religious service, after which we dispersed to our various class rooms, and then the serious business of the day commenced. We worked from ten to one with a break of fifteen minutes to ease the strain on our brains or whatever took their place! In my early days, the College had tremendous academical successes and the names on the board in the main hall should have, and maybe did, make some of us anxious to emulate those who had placed the College ahead of all other Chiefs' Colleges.

At one, there was a break of an hour during which lunch was served and then two more hours of class work. At five o'clock our physical needs were looked after by a variety of games. These varied according to seasons. Football, hockey, cricket, tennis, etc. Every one had to play whether proficient or not, fat or thin! We had to play and it did us a world of good.

There were days for scouting and I probably enjoyed them more than anything, particularly when we camped out in tents and cooked our own food. Even more interesting was to draw a route map. I cannot understand why scouting was dropped, as in nothing else can I see a better way of teaching leadership, self-reliance, selflessness and team work.

After games a bath and quick change and then a spot of work. Preparation for next day's work. We dined at 8.30 p.m., and at 10.0 to bed, and glad of it after a day's work and play. "Early to bed and early to rise" may not have made us wise, but it made us very fit.

There was some deviation from the above programme on Saturday nights and on Sundays and religious holidays. Saturday night was devoted to recreation. Boys might play billiards, read periodicals, play hide and seek, cycle, and in other ways amuse themselves.

On Sundays and religious holidays, a religious service for an hour started at 10 a.m., and, until the College owned its temple, we went to the Amapali temple to the north east of the College.

My first recollections of life at the College when I first arrived are rather hazy. In those days, we do not appear to have kept diaries, but later we did and I still have those I wrote. In these, we were supposed to record not only incidents in our daily life, but thoughts that might arise. I remember Alex reading a few pages of my earlier efforts and saying "What bilge!" It is true that most of us used to write "We got up, and cleaned our teeth, went to parade, ate our breakfast. Did work and then played. Ate our dinner and went to bed." These facts were naturally more "padded," but must have been a dreadful bore to those who had to read and correct them.

Whilst at the College, I was first in the Rajendra Das House and was later transferred to Balram Das House. For games, it was later found convenient to divide boys into sets as nearly as possible of the same strength in games as well as in work. I was in the Rajputs. The other sets were the Ranas, the Aryans, the Raj Gonds, the Bikrams, the Rathors, the Chauhans, and the Kushans. My set leader was Kumar Suraj Mani Deo of Athmallik, and I became the set-leader in the year 1927. Later, privileges

were introduced. Privileges were given to the boys who had earned them for general good conduct. Senior privileges were more extensive than junior privileges. Punishments were also "earned" for bad work or for misconduct or indiscipline. They took the form of extra work usually for bad work. Extra drill was given for laziness, and caning (very rare) for grave infringements of discipline. This could only be given by the Principal.

At first most prizes were for individual merit, but later most trophies were for team work, the change coming about when sets were formed Thus, team work was encouraged. Other important events in our lives were matches between the staff and the "Qumars." These matches produced keen rivalry and the kumars usually won in football and hockey, but were out-classed at cricket, as many of the staff were "Quadrangular" players.

The annual prize-giving was another great and exciting function The prizes were usually given away by H.E. the Governor, C.P., and it was also the occasion of a gathering of Old Boys, against whom we arranged matches during the brief visit.

When I arrived at the College, there was no Vice-Principal, but the post was later filled by the arrival of an ex-gunner officer who was promptly given the nick-name of "Lamboo Sab". We were a very happy family and many of the staff and kumars were given nick-names, which were usually chosen from characters of English literature to suit the persons to whom they were applied. Thus, to mention only a few, we had a Buffalo-Bill, Pickwick, Gobbo, and Barnaby. Both Mrs. Stow (Mummy) and Mrs. Smith-Pearse entered fully into the life of the College. Frequently, they arranged tea-parties and picnics for us, and cricket matches would not have been such interesting affairs without the cakes and ice creams they regaled us with. It is said that the way to a man's affection is through his stomach; how much more so is it the way to a school-boy's!! Both these "Mem Sabs" knew how to put small boys at their ease, and I am happy to say that they are still good friends of father and myself.

Some people have stigmatised the College life as a lazy one. From 6.30 a.m., to 10 p.m., was a long day and I would like some of these critics to try it. Mr. Stow and Mr. Smith-Pearse played as strenuously as we did and probably worked harder than we did, in addition to the administrative work that is necessary to keep a College up to the mark. Mr. Smith-Pearse, who had been to Gilwell Park, ran scouting as well. A lazy life? I was jolly glad to get to bed at the end of each day.

Finally, when I left the College, I realised what I owed to the College. It had endeavoured to teach me leadership, self-reliance, unselfishness, and service to my fellow-men, and if I fail, it will not be the fault of those who educated me.'

N.C.S.

CHAPTER FOUR

# THE PRESENT 1931–45

## A Survey

I was born in 1893 and was educated at Marlborough College and St. John's College, Oxford. Unlike Mr. Stow, I did not win much distinction either as a scholar or an athlete, though both at school and university I approached scholarship rank. I came, however, from a schoolmastering family; my father, for instance, was for 25 years Head of an English public-school. Owing to the war of 1914–18, my university career terminated in 1914, and from then until I joined the College as its Vice-Principal I was a soldier. I served in the ranks 1914–16 and was then granted a commission in the Royal Artillery, from which regiment I retired with the rank of Captain in 1921. I was mentioned in dispatches in 1918, and in 1919 Oxford University made me a B.A. on the strength of my pre-war academic record without further examination. I took the degree of M.A. in 1935. On being appointed to the Indian Educational Service on February 3rd 1921, I was posted on "foreign service" to the College. Therefore, again unlike Mr. Stow, I had had no previous teaching experience before coming to Raipur. In 1923 I married Katherine Waghorn who was destined to serve the College nearly as long as I did and who, in my admittedly very biased opinion, proved to be the best wife any schoolmaster could hope to have.

As a survey of my principalship is the subject of this chapter, its matter obviously cannot be called history in the sense of being an impartial criticism of my regime. Where I go beyond a mere chronicle of events, those who do not approve of things I did are entitled to dub what is written as propaganda; and those who approve, should not make the mistake of supposing thatt the time has yet come to assert thatt they are right to approve. I was at first inclined to write nothing of my own principalship, but changed my mind for two reasons. The Golden Jubilee of the College occurred in November 1944, and this book would have been published by that date but for the World-War of 1939–45. It seemed unsatisfactory not to include all the main events of the College story up to then. Secondly, it is hoped thatt some one will in future rewrite the whole of this story; and though he will be a much more suitable person to write of the post-1931 period, it will help him if he has my own account of my principalship

to study, so long as he remembers thatt it is—and cannot help being—a personal account written by myself, which will need much revision. This important fact will not be referred to again, but the reader is requested to bear it continually in mind throughout the rest of the book.

Mr. Stow's College was a very different one from Mr. Oswell's; my College very different from Mr. Stow's, though externally the College of 1945 is recognizable as that of 1930, whereas the College of 1920 was unrecognizable as that of, say, 1900. Although the College of 1912 had been a ship on the rocks which Mr. Stow rebuilt and refloated, I put the College of 1930 back again into dry-dock for further very extensive alterations. Whereas Mr. Stow's salvaging operations were essential, there was no unanimity thatt mine were. The former did what every one interested in the College wanted him to do, at least from 1912 to 1920; I kept on doing, throughout my principalship, what many people did not want me to do. Mr. Stow's difficulties came at the end of his time: mine mainly at the beginning.

My main effort was concentrated on the removal of those characteristics of the College that were open to criticism from an educational point of view but were valued by most of my boys' parents. In fact, I was often trying to influence my parents more than my boys. My first reform was to forbid my Staff to coach boys during hours of homework, an unpopular change made less unpalatable by the grant to the Staff, for the first time, of regular annual increments, contracts, and written conditions of service. At the same time, I started on a ten-year plan of improvement of masters' houses and commenced sending masters to training colleges, both in England and India, usually for a year's study-leave each. During my first decade, six new houses for masters were built, ten were improved, and two were demolished. Five masters were sent for training.

My next aim was to prevent the arrival of any new private tutors and to secure the withdrawal of those already in the College. Some of the latter were difficult to dislodge and I did not prevent the arrival of a few more; but the total number steadily decreased each year, until the last one (and one of the best) left in 1944. This result was not achieved without the loss of several boys who would have come or stayed if they had been allowed their own tutors.

It took as long (13 years) to get all the boys into one mess as it did to get rid of the tutors; but it took only a few years to get the majority to eat together. Very early on in my regime, I forbade any boy to eat in a private kitchen. This rule was made because the kitchens were most unhygienic places for meals, and the Staff was

unable to supervise what went on in them. It was accepted by all except one parent who withdrew his three sons.

As the mess grew, the number of private cooks decreased, the last leaving in December 1944. Simultaneously, there was a steady decrease in the number of private bedroom servants, called khawases, who numbered only two at the end of 1944. The General Council set the seal of its approval on this change in 1943 when it passed a rule thatt no new entrant might in future have a servant of his own after the end of the December of his year of admission. To take the place of these servants, the College engaged its own cooks and khawases, one of the latter usually serving six boys.

When I became Principal, not only had I two boys wanting to live in my house who had been living with me as Vice-Principal, but also Mr. Stow had left behind two Minor Rulers whose States had paid the cost of adding a wing to the Principal's house. It was impossible, therefore, to abolish the practice of giving special accommodation to special boys until the last of these four left the College, which event did not occur until the end of 1939. Before then I had admitted some other boys to both my house and that of the Vice-Principal. My conscience always pricked me for doing so, because I gained financially from these admissions: yet I could always retort thatt my taking these boys secured the support of very influential parents of which the College was badly in need; thatt, if I turned the boys out of my house, their parents would most probably withdraw them from the College; and thatt, as nearly all of them were heirs of large estates, they needed the extra amount of social polish which they could get only in my house. The great undesirability of putting a Principal in a position in which he is unable to decide such a question objectively has already been mentioned but deserves the emphasis of repetition. From 1939 onwards the number of boys in my house decreased until the last left in 1944. The departure of my wife to England in that year removed the argument thatt a boy would be much better cared for in every way in her house than in a boarding-house. After Mr. V. S. Forbes left in 1941, there was no Vice-Principal and so, naturally, there were no boys living in that house. The Council approved of what had been done by passing two rules in 1943: one, thatt no parent might in future make a private arrangement for his son's accommodation; the other, thatt the Principal might at any time put a boy temporarily in a master's house if the master was willing and the Principal had a good reason for doing so, but thatt the payment for this special accommodation would be small and would be made always by the College, never by the parent.

My next campaign was directed against the exclusiveness of the College and had, as its object, the admission of any boy who could afford to pay the fees, regardless of his class, caste, or creed, provided thatt a kumar always had first right to a vacant place. In other words, the College was voluntarily to surrender its right to be classed as a Chiefs' College. Naturally, many Rulers found it very distasteful to agree to this. Not only were they asked to undo what had been done with great expense and effort as recently as the previous decade; not only to let their sons rub shoulders with boys whom it had always been a tradition of their families thatt their sons should not mix with; but there was also the doubt what other ruling families in India would say to the change. In Princely India what Rajputana thinks carries very great weight; and the Mayo College, Ajmer, speaking on this question for Rajputana, clearly did not approve in the nineteen-thirties of any wider opening of the door of admission to a Chiefs' College. Moreover, was not this change the thin edge of a dangerous wedge? If boys of other classes were admitted today on level terms with kumars, would not their parents claim tomorrow the right to participate in the management of the College and weaken the control over it of those for whom it had been founded and by whom it had been generously endowed?

These were some of the serious considerations provoked by this almost revolutionary proposal. In reply, it was pointed out thatt great political changes were certain to take place in India during the next generation, thatt schools must adapt themselves to changing conditions, and thatt it would be fatal for the Princes to go on holding themselves aloof from the other educated people of India. If that point of view was accepted, it would be a desirable addition to the education of kumars to bring them into contact at school with boys of other classes. If Ajmer did not think so, it was becoming apparent thatt, first Rajkot, then the Aitchison College, and finally, after some hesitation the Daly College, were preparing to move with the times. The change should be made only because of the need for kumars to adapt themselves to changed conditions; but, if it was made for this reason, there would be incidental educational advantages also. Numbers would rise, which would be a very desirable result on both educational and financial grounds. Secondly, the new class of boy would probably be a clever boy, whose presence in the College would have a stimulating effect on all boys; as, if he were not, his parents would be unlikely to incur the cost of an expensive education for him.

Here indeed was a controversy over high policy. It must have been argued over and over again in private: but the General Council

at its meetings in 1933, 1936, and 1938, decided by a large majority and after surprisingly little opposition in favour of the 'open door'. It was not flung open with a bang: to begin with, the newcomers were limited to ten at any one time; but by 1943 it was wide open and more boys of the new type were being recruited than kumars. There was no rush of these recruits to begin with, however. During the first three or four years in which they were eligible for admission, the reluctance of a conservative Ruler to have his son 'contaminated' by contact with them was fully equalled by the reluctance of middle-class parents to have their sons 'contaminated' by kumars in the idle luxurious atmosphere of a Chiefs' College. The then public opinion of the official, professional, and commercial, classes was emphatic thatt the education given in the Chiefs' Colleges was bad, and this prejudice had to be overcome. It probably never could have been overcome if boys had been allowed to keep their tutors, private servants, and other luxuries; if the expense of the education had not been lowered by a number of economies; and if a higher academic standard had not been aimed at than that of the Chiefs' Colleges Diploma Examination, which was commonly, though unjustly, suspected of being an easy examination for lazy backward kumars. In fact, it was harder than most Indian examinations of matriculation standard.

However, before starting on the subject of new academic standards and examinations, my tribute must be paid to the Council for its decision of this controversy. Raipur led the other Chiefs' Colleges, closely followed by Rajkot. As it was a decision reached by a Council seventy-five per cent of whom were Rulers, without any pressure from Government, it was one freely arrived at on the merits of the case. It was a democratic decision, made by aristocrats and distasteful to all of them from the short-term point of view. It was felt thatt the right decision might make, and thatt the wrong one would break the College. It was unpopular in the Chamber of Princes and with many of the most influential Rulers in India, so thatt moral courage was needed by the Council to act as it did. Its decision was an act of either great folly or high statesmanship. The College historian of the future must decide which; if his verdict goes against the decision, at least he will concede thatt the Council erred in the grand manner.

Three main changes were made in the academic curriculum during my time in order to give all boys a better general education and to make the College more attractive to the new class of boy whom the College had decided to admit.

The Cambridge School Certificate examination took in 1942 the place of the Diploma examination as the first public examination of

the College. It needs to be repeated thatt the Diploma examination was *not* of low standard, though many people had convinced themselves by very poor evidence thatt it was. It is not enough, however, for a school thatt its main examination is good; it must also seem to parents to be good. The Diploma examination carried no weight and even its merits were inferior to those of the Cambridge one. This was of a much higher standard, it had a world-wide reputation, and would help invaluably a boy who sought higher education overseas. If Raipur boys passed it creditably, it could be claimed thatt the academic standard of the College compared creditably with that of thousands of schools all over the world. The Cambridge syllabus, moreover, offered boys a far greater choice of subjects and was even more elastic than it seemed to be, owing to the willingness of the controlling Syndicate to grant requests for special syllabuses and papers. Lastly, the School Certificate course led boys up to the beginning of the Higher Certificate course, which in my opinion is by far the best course of study in the world for students who intend to continue their academic education for only two years after matriculation. The standard of the School Certificate examination is at least one full year higher than thatt of any Indian matriculation examination; thatt of the Higher Certificate is certainly equal to that of a 3rd year Indian B.A. or B.Sc. class. Many good judges think it higher.

The College commenced presenting boys for the Cambridge examinations in 1942 and ceased to present for the Diploma examination after 1940 with results recorded in the next chapter.

This change of public examination afforded the opportunity to add some subjects to, and improve others in, the curriculum; with the main object of making what was taught in class of more direct value to the boys in their post-College lives, without too early specialization or loss of the cultural value of a wide range of subjects.

Indian modern languages, Art, Sanskrit, Biology and Agricultural Science, were the subjects mainly affected. Being of opinion thatt it was the duty of the College to teach every boy his mother-tongue as thoroughly as possible, I had from the start engaged better qualified masters to teach Hindi and Oriya, the two main Indian languages of the College. The chief—perhaps the only—weakness of the Cambridge examination in 1940 from the point of view of an Indian school was thatt the Indian modern language papers were too easy. The Indian Public Schools Conference, whose activities in relation to the College are mentioned later, therefore, persuaded the Cambridge Syndicate, to set special papers of much more advanced standard as alternatives, and I tried to insist thatt all Raipur boys took these papers, which

were not much easier than those set to I.A. students in Indian Universities. In these ways boys were forced to pay much attention to their mother-tongues. Not only would boys benefit in later life from a greater proficiency in them, but, so I hoped, the fact thatt the College was insisting on the importance of Hindi and Oriya would reassure those homes which for long had been fearing (as has already been said) thatt the College was a denationalizing influence.

Sanskrit was introduced as a compulsory subject only partly for the same reason. There were arguments against, as well as for, its introduction. Many boys who come to the College can make no progress in Sanskrit, however long and hard they study it. They lack the literary ability without which a student makes little progress in the study of a difficult classical language. Even if a boy possesses that ability he must study Sanskrit (as an English boy must Greek or Latin) at both his university and school, before he can open the doors leading to the treasures of the literature. Yet no Old Boy of the College had been known to choose Sanskrit as a subject of his university course. Was it not a waste of time therefore, for all boys to study Sanskrit at the College? I thought not. Even if a boy learnt very little Sanskrit, a few years' study of it must help his Hindi or Oriya or Bengali, and give him the valuable mental discipline imposed on any student of a highly inflected classical language. A boy who could pass in Sanskrit with credit would find it much easier to gain admission to a British university, some of which do not accept a school certificate as equivalent to matriculation unless a credit in a classical language has been obtained. Finally, the Cambridge paper in Sanskrit was of so high a standard thatt a boy who had passed it with credit would be encouraged to choose Sanskrit as one of his B.A. subjects and to make himself proficient in the most important language of every Hindu.

The place of Sanskrit in the College curriculum was found only after much trial and error. All boys in Classes V and IV were eventually compelled to learn Sanskrit. In Class III a boy with a marked aptitude for Art was allowed to substitute this for Sanskrit; the rest continued their Sanskrit till they were promoted to Class II. Then those unlikely to reach S.C. Sanskrit standard were weeded out and allowed to devote the time previously given to Sanskrit to other subjects. It is too early to say whether the above solution will prove to be the best.

Art, in which term are included not only drawing, modelling, and painting, but also music and dramatics, was also much encouraged by me. Well-qualified teachers of drawing, painting, and Indian music, were appointed; part of Balram Das boarding-house was

converted into an art-room; and time was found for every boy, who wished to work there or to take music lessons. Though much less time could be given to acting, at least one play, in English or an Indian language, was performed during almost every year of my principalship. Those artists whose work reached a good enough standard took Art in their Cambridge examination having previously passed the intermediate or junior drawing examination of Bombay. As there was no Cambridge paper on Indian Music, the best musicians were sent annually to the Allahabad Music Conference, where they could measure their proficiency against young musicians from the whole of the north of India, many of them the sons of professionals; and where the College representatives had to face the ordeal of playing before large audiences.

One of the objects of this encouragement of Indian arts was to convince parents thatt the College did not desire to neglect Indian culture in any form.

The biggest addition to the curriculum, however, was the addition of Biology and elementary agricultural science to the old science course of Physics and Chemistry only.

The first step was to create a College farm, one of whose functions was to act as the laboratory for biological and agricultural practical work. Then came, simultaneously, the enlargement of the Science block, the extension and improvement of the College orchard, and the planting in the grounds of the most important trees from a forestry point of view and of a good fodder-grass in a newly enclosed 22 acre field outside. These preparations were completed by the opening of a College dairy in 1944. Meanwhile it was decided to take the Cambridge General Science course instead of that confined to Physics and Chemistry, as the former required an elementary knowledge of botany and zoology also. Finally, the Cambridge Syndicate consented to set a special paper on elementary agriculture, dairy and fruit farming, and forestry, and to rank a boy who passed both in this paper and in the three ordinary General Science ones as having passed in two Science subjects instead of one. I sought several objects in making these arrangements. Every boy who was to inherit landed property would find when he grew up thatt to have studied general and agricultural Science at the College had been of direct help to him. There would always be (so far as could be foreseen) at least twenty such boys on the roll coming from homes to which forestry operations were often nearly as important as agricultural. These boys often brought brothers or cousins to the College who might be encouraged by the same studies to qualify themselves as agricultural or forest officers. The boys would be bound

to work with their own hands in farm, orchard, dairy, and grounds, not only because practical work was an essential part of the course but because the Cambridge Syndicate insisted on a practical examination. This regular manual work, I hoped, would do much to destroy the false idea, very common indeed among Indian students, that there is something derogatory in manual work. The boys who did not perceive the long-term value of the course would at any rate see the short-term attraction of one course offering a pass in two subjects, and so the College might expect the whole of its Science teaching to be popular with the boys. The College would incidentally secure the advantage of producing its own fruit, vegetables, and milk, thereby saving money and improving the diet of the mess; though it is open to doubt whether much money was actually saved.

The third change in the academic curriculum made by me was a failure in the sense that it lasted only five years, after which I had very reluctantly to retreat to my original position. I regretted this failure very much but never lost hope that a time would come when my retreat could be regarded as having been made in order to make a better jump forward.

The facts can be told in a few words. Wishing the College to teach well beyond the matriculation standard, I obtained the permission of the Council in 1934 to affiliate the College to Nagpur University and to present boys for its Intermediate Arts examination. The new I.A. class opened in 1936 and from 1938 to 1942 six boys took the examination, of whom only one failed. The Council on the advice of the Committee then decided that the class was not paying its way; and on this ground closed it and disaffiliated the College from the University. There was no dispute that the boys taking their I.A. course at the College were too few to cover its full cost with their tuition fees; and a general agreement that the financial reason for closing down was very cogent.

Why, then, was I so anxious for the College to go on teaching beyond matriculation standard, and why were boys so reluctant to stay on to be taught? Those are interesting questions, and the following answers to them deserve study by the College authorities of the future.

Boys were reluctant to stay on for two reasons; one a defect of the College organization, the other an error of their parents. Firstly, the College has always tried to recruit boys young, preferably at 8 or 9 years of age. These boys have been at the College in one environment for 7 or 8 years at least by the time they take their Cambridge examination. It is natural that they should then long for a

new environment. The remedy for this is discussed more fully in Chapter 6, my epilogue. It need only be summarized here as the division of the College eventually into two parts. I hope thatt a time will come when feeder-schools for boys under 11 are opened elsewhere, from which will come to Raipur boys of 10 and 11 who will take their Cambridge examination about four years after their arrival; and who, not yet having grown tired of the place, will be much less reluctant to stay on another couple of years for post-matriculation studies. The second reason why boys would not stay on was thatt a boy who left the College after taking his School Certificate could live in a university town under conditions of much greater freedom than he could enjoy in the College. If his father was well-to-do, as many fathers of College boys are, he could enjoy the pleasures of city-life, and perhaps live in a house of his own where he was entirely his own master. It was proved by several Old Boys during my time thatt they need not do any work, to speak of, during the first year of their Intermediate course, provided thatt they engaged two or three good tutors (often professors of the university) to cram them during the last five or six months of their second year. These 'play-boys' and those 'work-boys' who took the Intermediate examination at the College after two more years of College discipline, both passed the same examination at the same time and, *on paper*, were of equal academical status. Was it not natural thatt every son of a well-to-do father was extremely anxious not to take his Intermediate course at the College?

What disappointed me was not this very natural anxiety of boys to leave but my failure to make many of my parents see thatt it is not the academical qualification, but how it has been obtained, that is valuable from the educational point of view. I failed to convince them thatt to pass a university examination after many months of idle pleasure and a few months of intensive cramming is of practically no permanent educational value; thatt there is no primrose path nor short cut to real culture; thatt 'we learn virtue by practising it.' My failure to keep boys after winning their School Certificates harmed particularly my cleverest boys who won them at early ages. A Principal usually has to safeguard the interest of his average and backward boys rather than that of his clever ones. Many a school has deserved criticism for organizing itself too much to suit the latter, no type of school more than the English public school of 40 or 50 years ago. But here was a case of the clever boys' needing a champion. Their entry into university city-life at the age of 15, sometimes even of 14, was and always will be most harmful to them: the very boys who, if properly educated, were most likely to win high reputations. I always held the opinion thatt

no boy was mature enough to go to a university till he was 17 and that 18 was a better age of admission. Therefore, it was essential for the College to offer post-certificate courses of study to all boys who won certificates before the age of 17; and in this respect it should copy the English public school, at which the cleverest boys do three, and sometimes even four, years of post-matriculation work, before actually entering a university. In short, I regarded it as a fundamental principle thatt a boy should leave school on reaching a certain age and not on passing a certain examination. My disappointment was due to my failure to establish this as one of the principles of the College. If it had been, I should not have minded at all the actual disaffiliation from Nagpur University, whose regulations, courses of study, and standards, were in many ways unsatisfactory, especially the overrigid regulations without complying fully with which an affiliated college might not teach science subjects.

Before leaving this subject of the age at which a boy should enter a university, there is one more thing to be said. Instruction at a university and instruction in a school are imparted very differently. A university student must be able to read for himself, puzzle out his own difficulties, take useful notes, make concise summaries, use dictionaries, indexes, and reference books, make good use of a library, and consult a number of authorities on his subject. No student is able to do these things without being trained, and obviously he ought to be trained to do them before, not after, he reaches a university; otherwise he will lose the value of much of his first-year course. Much the best time at which to receive this training is the period between matriculation and entrance into a university. It is of very great educational importance thatt a clever boy, suitable for a university course, should not be removed from school as soon as he has matriculated. Would thatt the parents of clever boys could be taught this!

As this chapter is intended to emphasize the most important acts of my principalship and as the next chapter is concerned with their details, this one need discuss only a few more subjects. One of them is admissions. Numbers rose from 42 in 1931 to 74 in the middle of 1945, but it was a great disappointment to me thatt they did not rise much higher. A roll of 120 was what I had hoped for and I had gone so far as to select a site and have plans prepared for a new boarding house to take 45 to 50 boys. I did, however, deny myself many boys. Some refused to come, because the old special concessions had been withdrawn; no boy over 18 was allowed to stay unless he had matriculated, and no boy of any age could stay if he got married; and, as time went on, it became rare to grant admission

to any boy over 10 who could not qualify for a class more or less appropriate to his age. On the whole, I think thatt I raised the average quality of new entrants considerably, though even so I regretted some of my admissions.

My programme of rehousing the staff and getting them trained has already been mentioned. My other staff-policies were to improve their conditions of service, to retain in service only the best, and to devolve on to them more and more responsibility. The conditions of service granted rather hastily in 1932 were steadily revised and improved during the next twelve years and need not be examined here, as they can be read in a booklet which was approved by the Committee in 1943 and came into force as my final edition of staff conditions-of-service on January 1st 1944. With regard to retention of masters, I held the view thatt, as his conditions of service were relatively very good, a college master, to keep his place, must be positively good; not only must there be nothing against him, but there must also be much to be said for him. A master could not be said to have made good who had served for less than three or four years. I made some unwise appointments which had to be quickly unmade and I got rid of some masters on the negative ground indicated above. These comings and goings attract attention and at times caused harm and unpleasantness; but I felt very strongly thatt a Principal, who has not an absolutely free hand to select and dismiss his staff, must resign. When the facts about me and my staff are examined, they will be seen to show thatt I was very well satisfied with 80 to 90 per cent of my staff but never obtained a completely satisfactory one. What Principal anywhere ever has? At the end of 1944, out of 14 members of the senior staff, five had served throughout the 13½ years of my principalship: and six for over five years each. These figures do not support a belief thatt I changed masters for the sake of change.

I believed in decentralization as firmly as Mr. Stow had in centralization. Though at first I thought thatt a Vice-Principal was necessary, I came to regard one as creating 'a bottle-neck'. In 1931, no master was accustomed to act on his own even if he thought for himself. I waited till June 1943 before I felt thatt it was safe to institute a big plan of decentralization, though several masters had been put in charge of small departments without financial responsibility at earlier dates. In June 1943, however, a non-teaching Bursar was appointed for the first time, who very largely relieved me of financial routine and domestic economy. Five members of the Staff were put in charge of other departments: Teaching, Health, Physical Education, Stores, and Estate, and were given a fairly free hand to spend the budget allotments and

to control the subordinate staffs of their departments, as they thought best. The kind of organization that I was aiming at was one that could run the routine of the College satisfactorily for a considerable period of time in the absence of the Principal. By the end of 1944, the new organization had shown itself to be practicable and advantageous; it cost less than the employment of an English Vice-Principal; it gave several members of the staff increases of salary, more interest in their work, and more hope of promotion; and it freed me from much drudgery that others could perform as well as I.

The need to win the support of parents and Old Boys and to establish friendly relations between them and the authorities of the school to which they send their boys, is obvious; and the lack of this interest and friendliness in the College during Mr. Stow's principalship has already been deplored. Mr. Stow began, and I continued, to try to remedy this defect. A magazine was started in 1921 and has issued usually two numbers a year ever since, which were sent to the parents and Old Boys and to which many of the latter have sent contributions. This kept them in touch with the news of the College. The generosity of some Orissa Rulers made it possible for Mr. Stow to build a Guest House in 1927, one suite of rooms in which was designed to accommodate a lady observing 'purdah'. As there never has been a hotel in Raipur worthy of the name, this Guest House has done invaluable work in making it convenient for every one interested in the College to visit it. The 'Rani's Quarter' must have seen the dawn of realization, in the brain of many a mother paying her first visit, thatt the College, so long feared as a foe, was after all a friend to her son even if a strange one.

In his early years Mr. Stow used to arrange an Old Boys' day once a year, but, as few Old Boys attended them, he did not arrange any after 1916, until Lord Irwin, now Lord Halifax, the first Viceroy to visit the College, spent a day in it at the end of 1930. I determined to develop the success of Lord Irwin's visit, and every year during my principalship a large number of parents and Old Boys received invitations to attend a three-day Gathering, during which a past and present dinner and hockey match, the Prizegiving, the annual Council meeting, a tennis party, and, later, the annual meeting of the Old Boys' Association, were held. At the end of the Prizegiving the boys used to stage some programme, usually dramatic or athletic, for the guests; and the Art Exhibition was held. Every Viceroy between 1931 and 1944 attended one gathering during his term of office, and the Governors of the Central Provinces, Orissa, and Bihar, in their turns. This annual gathering became so popular thatt, when

the war of 1939–45 produced very strong reasons for discontinuing it till peace came, the Committee insisted on its being held even if the chief guests had to finance it! There is no doubt thatt it played a great part in arousing and sustaining the interest of many whose interest was vital to the College.

I published in 1936 the first register of all Old Boys since 1894, revised editions of which were issued in 1940 and 1946. They were invited to send matter for publication in it and many of them bought copies. The third edition was due for publication in 1944 but had to wait till the end of the war owing to shortage of paper. I also suggested thatt a coat-of-arms and colours should be chosen for the College, and this suggestion led eventually to the Council's approval of a coat-of-arms, designed by Raja Shanker Pratap Singh Deo, Mahindra Bahadur of Dhenkanal; and of colours, by Raja Jawahir Singh Bahadur of Sarangarh. Blazers and ties in the College colours —broad bands of mauve and green and narrow ones of dark blue, white, and light blue—were bought by many Old Boys and played their part by reminding them of the link between them and the College.

All these efforts culminated in two developments which I did not initiate myself but tried to encourage. Firstly, the Council decided in 1933 thatt one Old Boy, as such, should be given a seat on both the Council and Committee. Naresh Chandra Singh now Ruler of Sarangarh State was the first representative. In 1938, the number of Old Boys on the Council was increased to three and their selection was left to the newly formed Old Boys' Association. Finally in 1944 five representatives of this Association were given seats in the Council, one of whom was also a member of the Committee. In making these changes, the Council did not forget the parents, especially those of the new type of boy who was being admitted from 1939 onwards. Two of this new class of parent were given seats in the Council in 1940 and there is at the present time a proposal before it to elect two more to serve on the Council and one on the Committee.

Credit for the genesis of the Old Boys' Association must go to Rajkumar Purnendu Narayan Singh Deo of Kharsawan who since its inception in 1938 has been its moving spirit. Honesty compels me to say thatt up to the end of 1944 it had done little work of value to the College; but the facts thatt the Old Boys have felt the need for an organization of this kind and thatt it has met every year since its inception, are healthy signs. There is no doubt thatt, if it can attract more support and organize itself satisfactorily, it will become a source of great strength to the College. The further fact thatt the Council gave it in 1944 an increased number of seats in both the

Council and Committee shows thatt the authorities of the College are eager to strengthen and encourage it.

This summary shows thatt much has been done during the last two decades to bring home and school, past and present, closer together for the good of the College and all who enter it.

But let not smug complacency pretend thatt all was done that could have been! I did not visit the homes of supporters and parents often enough, especially those in Orissa. I used to remind my conscience, without satisfying it, thatt in the days of the Diploma Examination, that is up to 1940, there was a month's holiday in October and only 8 or 9 days at Christmas, with the result thatt the long summer vacation was too hot, the October one too wet, and the Christmas one too short, for a tour by the Principal; and thatt after 1940, when the Christmas vacation was lengthened to 26 days, I could not tour owing to the war-rationing of petrol. Whether the Principal is justified in leaving the College in term-time to fulfil social engagements is a debatable point. He certainly could not, in the days when the administration was centralized in him. Even when it ceased to be, he had teaching work to do daily that it was unsatisfactory to give to others to do. But if he stays at the College in term time, all the more must he go out annually on the road, in a sort of commercial-travelling capacity, during two or three weeks of a vacation. This is a most important part of the duties of the Principal of the College and the one that I most neglected. A married Principal with children has two conflicting loyalties during his vacations; the excuses for not touring mentioned above carry considerable force; yet the fact remains thatt the Principal must frequently visit the homes from which boys come and are likely to come. The main reason for fixing the Christmas vacation at not less than 26 days is thatt only a vacation of at least that length gives the Principal sufficient time in which to make a tour at the best time of the year for all concerned.

I have already mentioned the building of new masters' houses and the improvement of old ones. This survey would be incomplete if it omitted reference to the other chief building programmes of my time. There was, of course, no programme to compare with thatt carried out in the early years of Mr. Stow's regime, but almost every year saw some new construction or improvement of existing accommodation. By far the most expensive and valuable—but the least spectacular—undertaking was to provide the College with its own water supply; for by the end of Mr. Stow's time the supply of water from the town had become hopelessly inadequate. I sank four wells and built five overhead storage tanks and laid a network of pipes all over

the grounds at very considerable expense. The second biggest undertaking was the building of a swimming bath in 1940–41, most generously financed by Raja Bahadur Birendra Bahadur Singh, Ruler of Khairagarh State, and like his father a very good friend of the College, who also financed the construction of the raised lawn and lily-pond in front of the main building.

I also carried out construction to give staff, boys, and servants better sanitation and lavatories, though I do not consider thatt as much was done by me in this direction as the importance of the subject deserved.

I added to the Science Room and Hospital, built the College Shop, carried out a large number of alterations of different kinds in the Central Block and boarding houses to provide better or extra accommodation, planted a number of trees in the grounds every year, and redesigned the lay-out of the gardens. Finally, thanks to a generous donation from Maharaja Shri Sudhansu Sekhar Singh Deo, Ruler of Sonepur State, the Sonepur Pavilion and Sports ground were built and equipped in 1945. In the same year, I obtained the help of the Government of Bengal architect, Capt. Innes, to design and prepare drawings of the Stow Hall, a dining-hall, and a large unit consisting of an entrance hall, open-air theatre, music school, and museum. The desirability of one day making use of these plans and drawings is a topic discussed in chapter six of this book.

This chaper which aims to give not a detailed account of my principalship, but a survey of the changes made in my time to which I attached most importance, can now be concluded with a few paragraphs concerning the foundation of the Seva Society and the Indian Public Schools' Conference.

By forming what came to be known as the Seva Society, I introduced something entirely new into the College education, an educational experiment up to now seldom tried out in Indian schools. I very strongly felt the need to make my boys think about service to others and, in the phrase of Aristotle, to learn virtue by practising it; I wanted to help the miserably poor people who either worked for or lived near the College; and I devised a plan by which not only could I do both these things, but also give several boys training in running a charitable society in a business-like way.

The first necessity was money. Staff and boys subscribed monthly, the College and the Raipur Municipality each made annual grants, the clinic charged fees (about which more later), and there were miscellaneous recurring receipts. The difference between the total of these and the annual expenditure had to be begged for, and the

beggars were a Finance Committee of two masters and three boys, who also kept the accounts, paid the bills, made loans, and prepared an annual budget. Many parents and Old Boys gave generous donations to the Society.

The most expensive activity of the Society was the running of a primary school, which was housed in the cricket pavilion and which contained at the end of 1944 about 80 boys and girls and four teachers. The school did not confine itself to academic instruction; also, its children were medically examined and in some cases received remedial treatment, were given a midday meal, received some instruction in a craft and growing vegetables, and played games in the College grounds. A college master acted as manager, and he and two or three boys inspected the school for a couple of hours once a week.

The clinic for venereal diseases, held once a week, also cost a great deal of money but earned nearly as much as it cost. The Society paid a doctor and compounder to work in the College hospital for about three hours every Saturday morning and to treat any poor person that came for roughly half the cost of similar treatment in the Government Hospital in Raipur. He also got half a pint of milk thrown in. The fact thatt from 1941 to 1944 the clinic took Rs. 2,607 in fees at this reduced rate shows thatt the service was appreciated. One boy kept a card-index of patients and collected the money, and the Finance Committee bought the medicines.

The holding of two Sports Tournaments every year for small boys of the neighbourhood, one football, the other usually athletic sports, cost little but had the advantage of giving pleasure to many small boys (often 300) and of providing an opportunity for many College boys to make themselves useful. They refereed the games and acted as field-stewards, bought the prizes for the winners, and made the speeches when all was over.

Another activity with similar advantages was visits to the local Hospital, Orphanage, and Leper Colony, each in turn, in order to make acceptable gifts to the patients. In 1944 other local schools were invited to do likewise, so thatt each institution should receive a visit at least every other month. The College party usually included about ten boys.

There were other activities that it may be tedious to describe in detail, recurring and non-recurring, regular and irregular, successful and unsuccessful. Most of them were on a small scale; but the venture of financing the deepening of a tank in Danganiya village in 1942 and of helping to dig some of it out, cost a good deal of money which the village broke its promise to repay. But everyone, College and village, enjoyed the digging.

There can be no two opinions thatt such activities as these in a school do good to both those that give and those that take; but the main question that an educationist will ask, ('Is a boy who has had this experience at school more likely to take an interest in social service when he grows up?') must wait a few years longer before it can be answered.

The Indian Public Schools Conference was started in 1939 by my friend, Mr. C. H. Barry, Principal, Aitchison College, Lahore, and me. The founder-members were ourselves and the Heads of the Doon School, Dehra Dun; the Daly College, Indore; the Scindia School, Gwalior; the Rajkumar College, Rajkot; the Sri Shivaji School, Poona; and the Colvin College, Lucknow. Later, the last-named school dropped out, and up to the middle of 1945 no other school had joined the Conference, though in that year several other schools were thinking of doing so. However, in spite of the small number of member-schools during the first six years of the existence of the Conference, I venture to say thatt it has been of great educational value not only to the members but also to many schools that are not members; and to predict thatt the Conference will grow into an important educational body in India.

Its most obvious constructive work so far has been to improve the Cambridge examinations from the Indian point of view. It has also some useful publications already to its credit; a book on boarding-school education; a note on administrative training of young Rulers; and memoranda sent to the Central Advisory Board of Education and the Defence Department of the Government of India.

But the greatest value of the Conference from the point of view of the College has been the stimulus it has given to the staff. It has taken the staff six years of very beneficial effort in order to fulfil the conditions qualifying for membership of the Conference. Meetings have been held every year at a different school where there has always been much of interest and value for me to see. The benefit of these annual meetings has been enjoyed since 1944 by other members of the College staff also. Co-operation, friendship, the pooling of ideas and information, and the discussion of common problems by the members have been of very great help to me and, I believe, to the other members of the Conference. I think thatt Mr. Barry will agree with me thatt one of the best decisions either of us ever made, as Principal of a school, was the one we made in May 1939 to invite other similar schools to meet us in conference.

I am not dissatisfied as I read over this survey once again. To pretend thatt I am would be mock-modesty. I have done many things

which I honestly thought needed doing, and if I had my time over again, I should do them again. I do not believe thatt my successor will find it necessary, after I have gone, to put the College back again, as I did, into dry dock. I hope thatt he will find thatt he can base his plans and reforms very largely on work that I have done. Yet I should not like to close this chapter, leaving with anyone the impression thatt I consider thatt he will have no more to do than to keep things going as they are now. There is a tremendous amount still to be done that I have made very little headway with. This subject is fully discussed *from my point of view* in chapter six, but I should like to close this chapter with a statement of my opinion what is at present the weakest feature of the College education.

Too many parents still seem unaware thatt education is *not* a process that stops when the College closes for a vacation and restarts when it reopens, but is a continuous one. Throughout every vacation, a boy goes on being educated for better or for worse. Far too many boys in the College get a bad education in their vacations, either learning what they should not learn or not learning what they should. The virtues of the College education are not practised, supplemented, or valued, in many homes; nor are its defects made good. It is the home, rather than the school, which can better teach good manners and consideration for others, for instance; which can broaden a boy's mind by well chosen travel and sight-seeing; which can inculcate a right attitude towards the opposite sex. It is also in the home, rather than the school, thatt certain temptations are chiefly met and ought to be overcome; temptations to keep low company, to indulge in undesirable habits, to fritter away time to no good purpose, to lead an unhealthily 'soft' life.

Good home-education waits on the proper education of boys' mothers and sisters. The future success of the College depends on the same thing. The education of a nation is the education of its women, and only very rarely indeed can a man rise much above the education of his home. I leave the College with the conviction thatt, however admirably my successor and his staff do their work in term-time, much of their good work will continue to be undone, until the education of girls in these parts receives as much attention as that of boys.

CHAPTER V

# THE PRESENT: 1931–45

## Facts and Figures

This chapter has been written to record the details of the main events and problems of my principalship. I have copied the arrangement in Chapter III and for the most part have described each year separately. I have been handicapped of course by inability to criticize objectively the acts of this period; but even without any handicap it would never be a 'best selling' chapter!

1930–31.

I knew before I took charge thatt my staff would need a great deal of my time during my first year: I had not realized thatt the accounts of the College would need almost as much. Money-matters and masters were my first chief concerns.

Reference has already been made in Chapter III, pages 66 and 67, to the unbusinesslike way in which the accounts were kept up to 1931, and to the absence of a proper audit. Many other shortcomings now came to light. No balance sheet had ever been prepared; the College buildings had not been valued; all the many donations that the College had received had never been accounted for in a clear way; most College property had not been listed in stockbooks nor checked, and none of it had been valued; some College property to a value of Rs. 4,548 had been bought with money sent to pay boys' school-fees; large donations for building purposes, such as the Nandgaon one, had earned considerable sums as interest while on deposit awaiting the start of building operations, but most of this interest had been spent as income instead of being added to the amount of the donations; there were no depreciation and reserve funds; the actual opening balance in the current account on April 1st 1931 was minus Rs. 396–9–6; and by July 1st, when I took over, the budget allotments for the whole of 1931–32 under five important contingency heads had already been overspent. In short, there was urgent need to reorganize the financial administration.

I myself was extremely inexperienced in financial matters and could probably never have put the accounts in order, had I not had great help from Mr. Donelly, then Agent of the Imperial Bank in Raipur and from the improved financial position of the College already

noted in Chapter III, pages 118 and 119. The Committee readily agreed to all proposals for reform that were put forward.

Babu Paras Ram, Head Clerk, retired after thirty years of service. Four clerks were employed instead of three. Mr. Nanekar was one new one and has now served the College for 14 years; the other one was Mr. Vishnu Prasad who served for thirteen. Four separate accounts were opened, one of which dealt only with capital receipts and payments. This account made it impossible to repeat the common mistake of the past of muddling up capital and income. A special audit by the Accountant General, Central Provinces, was held; the old system of monthly audit by the accountant of the Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division, was given up; and it was arranged for the Accountant General in future to hold a thorough annual audit, lasting about three weeks. The questions of balance sheet, valuation, and stockbooks, were left over till the following year.

Another risky feature of the finances was the large holding of 2313 C.P. Railway shares, a security that could not be classified as 'trustee', (see Chapter III, page 64). 1313 of these shares were sold at a loss of Rs. 40,332. But this loss was made good—or perhaps more than made good—on reinvestment. 1931 was a year of world-wide financial depression, and it was possible to earn 6% on investments in gilt-edged securities. The College was exceedingly fortunate to have money then to invest, not only the sale-proceeds of the railway shares but also most of the donations to the Irwin Memorial Fund. All the investments made at that time could be sold today for nearly double their cost-price.

While on the subject of finance, it is convenient to record here the other chief financial facts of this year. Income, thanks to the Irwin Fund and the Government of India grant, rose to Rs. 1,29,045 and expenditure was Rs. 1,23,902. A run of annual budget deficits had been ended. The Committee decided, by a majority vote only, to make school fees vary with the ability of the boy to pay. I think thatt this arrangement is wrong in principle, and I feel ashamed to see thatt I voted with the majority. It is one that has long since been abandoned. Anything in a school that obviously emphasizes a difference between boy and boy ought to be suspect. A much better way of facing the fact thatt one boy cannot afford as much as another is to make both pay the same fees but to give the poorer one a refund in the shape of a scholarship or bursary. The Committee, unwisely supported by me, gave me power to charge a boy any figure between Rs. 30 and Rs. 75 p.m. that I thought he could afford.

It is interesting to note thatt Mr. Littlehailes, who made his last

inspection in January 1932, calculated thatt the average cost of a boy's education at this time was Rs. 2,100. Private lodging, private servants, and individual messing, are, of course, expensive as well as unnecessary luxuries. When they had been done away with, the College found it easy to collect school-fees at a rate of about Rs. 70 per boy per month and yet to keep his total annual expenses at Rs. 1,500 only, an average saving to parents of Rs. 600 p.a.

My other big task of the year was, in H. G. Wells's words, 'the work, wealth and happiness of my staff'. I had one full of newcomers, who made some changes easy and others difficult. Mr. A. C. Mukherjee, Mr. S. K. Shrivastava, and the Shastri left at the same time as Mr. Stow; the Head Clerk in December; Moulvi Abdus Shakur returned to the Orissa Educational Service in 1932. Till a new Vice-Principal arrived, a master was needed to do his teaching work; and two new posts had been created for assistant-housemasters. Eight posts were, therefore, filled during the year.

To everyone with a salary of Rs. 30 p.m. or better a timescale of pay, a contract, and a set of rules covering all foreseeable events that might occur during his service were given. These rules were twice revised during my principalship, the latest and most complete edition coming into force in January 1944.

The staff which I had collected by the end of my first year and their new timescales of pay were as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | W. A. Perkins, B.A., Dip. Ed. | Vice-Principal ... | Rs. 500–50–1,500 |
| 2. | S. R. Pinge, B.A., LL.B., ... | Headmaster ... | 400–20–440–10–500 |
| 3. | J. B. Kapur, B.Sc.,... ... | Senior Assistant | 300–10–390 |
| 4. | A. K. Das, B.Sc., ... ... | " " | 210–10–250–5–290 |
| 5. | B. K. Kar, B.A., ... ... | " " | " " " " " |
| 6. | Raghoraj Singh, M.A., LL.B. | " " | " " " " " |
| 7. | S. N. Kunzru, B.A., ... | Housemaster ... | 225–15–375 |
| 8. | C. M. Kunzru, I.Sc., ... | " ... | " " " |
| 9. | P. B. Gadre, M.A., ... ... | Assistant House-master ... | 175–10–215 |
| 10. | V. V. Sovani, M.A., LL.B., | Assistant House-master ... | 175–10–215 |
| 11. | T. Mahapatro, B.A., B.L., | Junior Assistant | 160–10–200 |
| 12. | P. L. Nagar, M.Sc., ... | " " | " " " |
| 13. | G. R. Naidu, Matric ... | Grounds and Games Supdt. | 100–5–125–5/2–150 |
| 14. | G. G. Kanetkar ... ... | Art Master ... | 100–4–132–3–150 |
| 15. | Pandit Medhakar Shastri Chaturvedi ... ... | Religious Instructor | 100–4–132–3–150 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 16. | Kaluram Thakur ... | Resident Doctor | Rs. | 120–5/2–200 |
| 17. | Hira Singh Subedar ... | Drill Instructor | | 60–2–80 |
| 18. | Gangaram Havildar ... | Drill Instructor | | 40–2–60 |
| 19. | Nur Mahomed Daffadar ... | Riding Instructor | | 40–2–60 |
| 20. | Nazar Mahomed ,, ... | ,, ,, | | 30–1–40 |
| 21. | S. Ratnam ... ... | Motor Instructor | | 60–5–90–5/2–120 |
| 22. | B. G. Deoulgaonkar, Matric ... ... | Head Clerk ... | | 80–4–120 |
| 23. | Anant Ram ... ... | Second Clerk ... | | 60–2–80 |
| 24. | G. R. Nanekar, Matric ... | Third Clerk ... | | 40–2–60 |
| 25. | V. P. Dhurandhar, Matric... | Fourth Clerk ... | | 40–1–50 |

It may be of interest to compare this list with the list of my 1945 staff given at the end of this chapter. Though the number of boys in 1945 was nearly twice as many, the staff then engaged in teaching was considerably smaller than that of 1931.

I was carrying out the policy, commented on in Chapter III, (page 105) of having some masters on long-term, others on short-term, engagements. I then still believed it necessary to copy Mr. Stow's plan of employing two non-teaching housemasters, and the Committee had reinforced them with two assistants teaching half-time only. Four such masters would be grossly extravagant today, but, though many people will not be convinced by my saying so, I still think thatt they were necessary in 1931.

The motor instructor was the most obviously over-paid member of the staff. On the other hand, though Mr. Naidu was deservedly popular and a splendid athlete, the College needed—and will always need—a higher paid, much better qualified man to look after all the building and repair work.

I have already said in Chapter III thatt a shastri was found unsuitable to give religious instruction in a boarding school, though Pandit Medhakar was a man bound to be respected by all who knew him. A doctor is not nearly so useful as a trained nurse. One drill and P.T. instructor later on proved more than sufficient. In a school with many boys under 10, at least one mistress is needed in place of one teaching master. A music master is as much needed as an art-master: and, finally, (it took me a long time to make up my mind about this) a Vice-Principal is not nearly so useful to the College as a Bursar. These, in brief, are the conclusions that I reached during my principalship on the subject of the composition of the staff.

My first disagreement with the Committee came early in my first year over the appointment of Mr. Perkins as Vice-Principal. I was convinced thatt another applicant was more suitable. It is not worth while to advance my reasons for this opinion now, but I shall

always feel thatt the College lost an outstandingly good man on this occasion. Nevertheless, Mr. Perkins had many great merits. He was an excellent teacher of Geography, a very useful athlete, a very pleasant man to deal with, and a hard worker. He stayed only eighteen months, because a life in India did not suit his wife and child, and he very naturally could not put his career at the College in front of their welfare.

The first matters concerning the staff that were taken up, after their conditions of service had been attended to, were their professional training and their tutorships.

A staff Library was formed of books on the theory and practice of teaching. It was decided to send away a master for training annually. The Art Master went for two months to Jubbulpore in this year.

From April 1st 1932, no member of the staff nor any private tutor was allowed to coach a boy during his hours of homework. Instead, homework was done in two large rooms with a master on duty in both. Private tutors had been reduced from nine to two, rather by good luck than good management. Mr. Bhargava, Ramgarh tutor, and Mr. Baleshwar Prasad, Surguja tutor, were very helpful to me in taking classes during the next two or three years, when there was always at least one master on study leave at a training College. This was a bad permanent, but very convenient temporary, arrangement.

The next important event of this year concerned the Council and Committee. The College registered itself on April 1st 1932 as a Society under Act XXI of 1860. A Memorandum of Association was drawn up and signed, and a set of rules for the Society was brought into force. These were modified to a small extent from time to time during my principalship, but were not substantially altered until January 1944 when the present rules for the Governing Body were adopted.

The chief feature of the 1931 rules was the expansion of the Committee from nine to fourteen members. Experience has since shown thatt a smaller Committee is more convenient, and it now again consists of nine members. The 1931 Committee consisted of:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Orissa Rulers* | ... | THE RAJAS OF TALCHER, BAUDH AND KHARASWAN |
| *Chhattisgarh Rulers* | ... | THE RAJA OF SARANGARH, SAKTI, AND KOREA |
| *C. P. Zemindars* | ... | THE RAJA OF KHARIAR AND THE JAGIRDAR OF HARRAI |
| *Bihar and Orissa Zemindars* | ... | THE RAJA OF BANAILI AND THE THAKUR OF JARIA |
| *Ex-officio* | ... | THE COMMISSIONER, CHHATTISGARH DIVISION, THE POLITICAL AGENTS AT SAMBALPUR AND RAIPUR AND THE PRINCIPAL |

The Raja of Talcher was elected Chairman; from this time onward, the late Raja Bahadur of Sarangarh, who had rendered outstanding service for close on twenty years, very unfortunately could not pay so much attention to College affairs owing to poor health. In this year which was very busy for everyone connected with the College, the Council met once and the Committee on no less than five days. The Director of Public Instruction, Bihar and Orissa, became a member of the Council owing to the strong desire of the time that there should be equality of representation as between the Central Provinces and Bihar and Orissa. This desire ignored the fact that the Chhattisgarh States and the C.P. Government and its Zemindars had in the past given the College far more support than anyone else.

It was, however, very politic to try to win genuine support for the College from Bihar and Orissa and the Orissa States, especially at a time when the Chairman of the Committee was an Orissa Ruler. So Sir Montagu Butler, Governor of the Central Provinces, invited Sir Hugh Stephenson, Governor of Bihar and Orissa, to visit the College and give away the prizes, which he did.

I had inherited instructions to prepare the top class for two examinations of matriculation standard (Chapter III, pages 116 and 117), and this seemed to me a clumsy arrangement that I ought to try to improve on, so I tried to prepare boys of Class II for the Patna Matric, keeping the Diploma for Class I. If this experiment had succeeded, I had hoped to close down the Diploma class and to superimpose two intermediate classes on top of Class II; the best way, I thought, of introducing such classes. But the experiment failed; the boys of Class II in 1932 and 1933 were not quite good enough. In spite of having taken pains to explain to parents and guardians that the entry of Class II boys for this examination was an experiment only, the fact that they failed was exploited by some people as proof of the inefficiency of the College education. Three boys were actually removed after failure, though they had excellent chances of passing the Diploma examination in the following year. This is one more instance of the very deep-rooted belief in Indian homes that a boy must leave school upon passing—and even after failing to pass—a certain examination and not upon reaching a certain age.

The other events of academical importance in this year were the expansion of the Library, the greater encouragement of private reading, the start of my 'general topics' talks, and the devotion of Wednesday afternoons to the practice of a number of hobbies, which included Indian music. Three boys took and passed the Diploma Examination, securing 3rd, 9th, and 18th places. The first two were placed in the second division.

A number of changes relating to the boys and their living conditions is worth noting. Three boarding-houses were formed so thatt only boys of roughly the same age would live together. Private servants who had numbered 130 for 50 boys in 1927, numbered 79 for 42 boys in 1931 and the number of them decreased still more during the year. There were three messes for 13, 5, and 3 boys respectively; but all the other boys except three ate together in downstair rooms in Rajendra Das boarding house, though each had his own cook. Increased privileges were given to privileged boys, and an annual special holiday was given to the winning set in order to put life into the set competition. A small beginning was made with social service by inviting subscriptions for charitable purposes and by getting sets in turn to act as hosts to boys from local schools. Steps were taken to arrange inter-school matches with a school in Jubbulpore and high-schools in neighbouring States. Formal gymnastics were stopped, but boxing and swimming were restarted and basket-ball and wrestling introduced. Set leaders were trained to command their own squads at drill and physical training. Numbers rose from 42 to 44, but the increase gave no comfort as all new boys except one were conscripts.

The final concern of this very arduous year was to improve boarding-house sanitation and the water supply. Mr. Pollard, I.S.E. gave invaluable help over the latter problem. It was decided thatt the College must develop its own supply and a site was chosen for digging the first well, the one near the south gate which is now the mainstay of the College water supply. It was also decided to equip the boarding-houses with septic-tank latrines.

1932–33.

During this year all buildings were valued by Mr. M. T. Craig, I.S.E., all property of every kind was valued and entered in stockbooks, and the first balance sheet was issued. This work takes little space to record in this book, but it took much time and effort to accomplish. The necessity of having stockbooks is obvious: to value the buildings was an essential preliminary to the issue of a balance sheet, which was very desirable, if not essential, in view of the large sums of money that the College had received and for which it ought to be able by means of a balance sheet to account. From this year on the staff undertook the great labour of an annual stocktaking, but the Committee in 1945 decided on a new plan which will much reduce the labour involved.

The financial health of the College had by now been restored. Recurring receipts totalled Rs. 1,33,500 against an expenditure of only

Rs. 1,21,171. It was decided to open reserve and depreciation funds into which savings should be paid annually. The aim was to have a reserve fund of Rs. 50,000 by 1938, but it was not achieved. At the end of 1944, however, there were Rs. 42,416 in the reserve fund and Rs. 14,741 in the depreciation fund. The amount to the credit of the latter has always been too small.

The well at the South gate, known as Well D, was finished by the summer of 1933, and so were the septic-tank latrines of both boarding-houses. They are not as good as they should be, because they have no flushing system; and their pattern is inferior to that of more modern ones; but they have worked well and were vastly superior to anything that the College had had before. The Committee also decided to rewire the whole of the buildings and to replace underground distribution cables by overhead wires. A direct supply of A.C. electrical energy was to be taken from the town, which change involved changing all the D.C. fans and selling the converter. The project was to cost about Rs. 23,000 net but there would be a great saving of recurring expenditure. The execution of the project removed the last trace of the installation very generously provided in 1920 by the Maharaja of Surguja (Chapter III, pages 83 and 84).

A small, but very useful, present of this year was made by the Thakur of Kawardha State, namely a wall against which tennis players could practise their strokes. Another most useful addition to the teaching equipment was the gift of an epidiascope and four educational cinema films from the Maharaja of Surguja. This gift was made to commemorate the visit in December 1932 of Lord Willingdon, Viceroy of India, and Lady Willingdon. They were not only very distinguished, but also generous, visitors, as they presented the clock which hangs in the Main Hall as well as their photographs, and demanded ten days of extra holiday for the boys!

The Council made an important financial decision in this year when it decided to lend money on mortgage to States and Estates under official management. The College has invested large sums in such mortgages ever since; at one time it had lent out over nine lakhs of rupees. By 1945, however, the total so lent had become very much smaller, as the war-years of 1939–45 were prosperous ones for landowners. There is no doubt thatt these transactions have been advantageous, but they have always carried with them two risks luckily escaped; those of default by a mortgagee and of new legislation to the disadvantage of the mortgagor. As India was likely in the near future to achieve political independence and the policy of the new C.P. Government towards landowners was unknown, I felt thatt the risk of new dis-

advantageous legislation had increased. I, therefore, ceased to make any effort during my last five years to accept new mortgages and have recommended in Chapter VI thatt some of the money previously so invested and now repaid should be used to finance feeder-schools.

The only change in the teaching staff was the replacement of Mr. Nagar by Mr. Chandy. Mr. Raghoraj Singh spent the year at the Spence Training College, Jubbulpore, where he distinguished himself by becoming a B.T. and winning the gold medal. Havildar Gangaram was sent on a P.T. refresher course, and two other members of the staff took correspondence courses organized by the Teachers' World Bureau. These steps were the first effective ones taken to improve the professional ability of the staff. Humbler members of the staff were promised gratuities at the end of at least fifteen years of service.

There was need to raise the standard of instruction, as the Diploma results of April 1933 showed. Out of five candidates, one failed and four secured only third divisions and 18th, 19th, 28th, and 32nd places in order of merit—the worst Diploma year that the College ever had. The Council agreed to cut down the number of one-day religious holidays by about half. I made a start with creating a farm to be used for the teaching of biology and agriculture. Visitors were invited to give lectures; and a dramatic society started its career with 'the Trial Scene' from *The Merchant of Venice*, remarkably well acted by several of the caste. Holiday tours of educational value to places like Kashmir, Delhi, and the Pindari Glacier were arranged. It was also decided to give another trial to the Dalton System. These are some of the ways in which I tried to raise the academical and cultural standard of the College at this time.

A few lines more may be worth putting on record about religious holidays in term time. Though I got them reduced, I failed twice to get them abolished; I could not even get the College staff to support me. From the academical point of view they are bad: from the disciplinary one they cause anxiety: from the 'rest and refreshment' point of view ten days added on to vacations would be far more useful than ten one-day holidays. I am not convinced thatt respect for religion makes it imperative to observe the whole of certain schooldays as whole holidays. On all of them sufficient time must of course—and could easily—be given for special services in the Temple; but only on two of these days do so many of the masters and boys fast thatt they should not be required also to work. On other days, it would be possible to give individual masters (to whom the day was specially important) leave without giving it to all the boys as well, who do nothing after Temple is over but play about. A compromise between the needs

of religion and education ought to have been worked out by now in the College, but people are not good at compromises in India.

I received considerable disappointment over my first failure to find a good career for an Old Boy and to win a special academical success for the College. A successful Diploma candidate of 1932 entered on a two-year course of preparation for entrance to the Indian Military Academy. At the end of his first year, he sat for the examination, not in the hope of success but to give him experience for the following year. As he was placed 44th out of some 120 candidates his chance of success in 1934 looked bright until his family refused to let him compete again!

The importance of this story is thatt it is typical of most efforts made by the College to find good careers for Old Boys of the kumar class. Extraordinary though it may sound to many readers, it is nevertheless true thatt to get the parents of a kumar to allow him to try for a good, useful, independent, career has been a task at which I have recorded failure after failure. This fact should be borne in mind when reading what I have to say on the subject of careers in Chapter VI.

Numbers struggled up only to 46, because, though eleven new boys came, nine left; and no fewer than nine out of these eleven were what I call 'conscripts'—a bad sign. To try to mend matters I went on a tour of recruitment in Bihar and Bengal, but I worked no magic.

There were some changes inside the College, however, which I think did good. Boys were invited to subscribe for charitable purposes, and sets in turn continued to invite groups of boys from local schools to spend a few hours in the College as their guests. These were the beginnings of the activities of the College Seva Samiti. During the period March to October, boys began to wear the uniform that they now wear all the year, and so escaped the ordeal of a safa and tightly fitting clothes during the heat of the year. Gradually—not only during this year but during the whole of the next decade—more and more boys began to mess together, private servants became fewer, and life in the boarding-houses simpler and cheaper. I see thatt this year is the first in which I commended the privileged boys on their work, but it is too long ago for me to say whether I did so because they had deserved praise or because I hoped thatt praise would stimulate them.

This is also the year in which the Committee agreed thatt cricket should cease to be a compulsory game. As I have written at some length on this subject in Chapter III, pages 73–76, I need not say more here. Christ Church School, Jubbulpore, paid a visit to play the boys at football, athletic sports, and boxing, and to give them what I had always felt thatt they badly lacked, namely an annual inter-school

contest. The visit itself was a success but it did not achieve its primary object, as Christ Church School was unable to invite the College team to make a return-visit. However, 'home and home' fixtures with schools in neighbouring states not only started but have been repeated every year. The time previously given to cricket was given instead to farming, gardening, basket-ball, polo, athletic sports, boxing and wrestling. Boxing has always been an intermittent sport, because of the difficulty of finding a competent instructor in Raipur; Mr. Perkins was admirable but his stay was short. Mr. S. N. Kunzru, throughout my principalship, was the 'guru' of College wrestlers.

The proposals to have an Old Boys' Society, and a College crest, motto, and colours, were warmly received by the Committee, but they were ones that took several years to hatch out.

1933–34.

Many important events occurred during this year, the chief being a new constitution for the Governing Body, the inspection report of Sir John Anderson, the opening of the campaign for fixed fees and free admissions, and several changes in the staff.

In April 1933 the Eastern States Agency was formed and the Chhattisgarh and Orissa States ceased to be the responsibility of the Governments of the Central Provinces and Bihar and Orissa respectively. This administrative change compelled changes in the Council and Committee. The Governor of the Central Provinces resigned from the Presidentship of the Council; places had to be found for some political officers of the E.S.A.; and the relationship of the Resident, Eastern States, to the College had to be determined.

H.E. the Viceroy consented to become the Visitor, the Governors of the Central Provinces and Bihar and Orissa, Patrons, and the Resident, Vice-Patron. It was decided to elect the President of the Council every three years; the first to be elected was the then Resident, Mr. (now Sir Edmund) Gibson, I.C.S. Each Patron was to have one representative and the right to nominate four Zemindars of his province; the Resident was to be represented by his Secretary and two Political Agents; the Educational Commissioner (now called Adviser) was to be the educational expert; the Principal was not only to be a member and ex-officio Secretary but also had the right to nominate one Old Boy to both Council and Committee. The remaining members were 'all Ruling Chiefs of the Eastern States Agency'.

The Committee was to contain sixteen members—far too many to deal quickly with a mass of administrative detail: two representatives of Patrons, two Political Agents, six Rulers, four Zemindars, one Old Boy, and the Principal.

New rules were agreed upon embodying these changes and providing for the conduct of the business of the Society.

So ended the long and close connection between the Government of the Central Provinces and the College. The Council tried to find words in which to convey its sense of gratitude to that Government, but this book testifies thatt words could not adequately convey the size of the College's debt. The following resolution was passed in December 1933 on the day after the new Governor, Sir Hyde Gowan, had presided at the Prizegiving:

'Resolved unanimously that at this first meeting of the General Council of the Rajkumar College Society, Raipur, since receipt of the resignation by His Excellency the Governor of the Central Provinces of the Presidentship of the General Council, there be placed on record this acknowledgement of the great debt of thanks owed by the College to His Excellency, his predecessors, and his Government; in the early days of the College, on account of invaluable official help and large financial assistance: latterly, on account of the personal interest and support of the late Sir Frank Sly, Sir Montagu Butler and their political officials. It also hopes greatly that it may still count on the interest and support of His Excellency and his Government now and in the future, and thanks him and Lady Gowan for honouring the College with a visit, which was much appreciated by all.'

The following resolution was sent to Sir Montagu Butler who had recently retired:

'Resolved unanimously that a cordial vote of thanks be sent to Sir Montagu Butler, lately President of the General Council of the Rajkumar College Society, Raipur, for his warm personal interest in and support of this College over a period of eight years, which are very deeply appreciated by all connected with the College. They also offer to him and to Lady Butler their best wishes for health and happiness for many years to come.'

This resolution was followed up by the subcription of Rs. 15,200 by all the Chhattisgarh States to found two Butler Scholarships of Rs. 300 p.a. each in memory of Sir Montagu and Lady Butler.

I think it may be said thatt, when the parting had to come, it was made gracefully.

By far the most important decision of the Council, apart from these decisions concerning changes in the Constitution of the Society, was to make a start towards opening the College to a new kind of boy. Not more than ten boys at anyone time, who had previously been ineligible for admission, might be admitted. This decision was at first rendered nugatory by another decision thatt they must pay Rs. 1,750 p.a. each, but this figure was soon lowered. There is no doubt thatt the 1933 inspection report of Sir George Anderson played a big part in inducing the Council to make this decision.

This was the third really valuable inspection report that had been presented to the College. Sir George mainly stressed the great need for increased numbers and gave it as his opinion thatt sufficient boys could never be found, unless the College could attract other boys as well as kumars. But his report was full of other suggestions that later on received serious attention: intermediate classes, dropping the Diploma in favour of the Cambridge examination, boys not living their whole school-lives in masters' houses, the desirability of charging an inclusive fixed fee, the importance of teaching agriculture, the harm done by private servants, the teaching of junior classes by class-teachers, not subject-teachers. Nevertheless, the theme of the whole report was the need to double numbers, to open the door of admission wide in order to do so, and to keep boys at the College for two years after they had passed their Diploma.

Encouraged no doubt by a report that expressed my own views better than I could do myself, I made public in my report on this year what changes I hoped to be allowed to make during the years ahead. It may be found convenient if I divide these into those that were achieved, those that were tried and given up, and those that were not achieved at all.

In the first class come a large increase in numbers; admission open to boys of any class, caste, or creed; no special boarding arrangement for any boy; no tutors, private cooks or servants (there are still two servants left at the time of writing); a fixed fee for all boys which should cover all forseeable expenses; a large number of trained teachers; the development of societies that would encourage boys to make better use of their spare time—literary, debating, dramatic, social service, art, and music; the delegation of considerable responsibility upon selected senior boys; a better matriculation examination than the Diploma.

The College tried during my principalship but later gave up intermediate classes; the Dalton system; the Project method and the teaching of junior classes by class-masters; a scout troop and wolf cub pack.

My outstanding failure was to get Old Boys of the 'kumar' class to adopt useful careers.

Much has been written elsewhere in this book on several of these changes, so I shall confine myself here to a few comments on those that have not been previously noticed. The first is the fixed fee. It was found thatt in this year the boy living most expensively paid Rs. 4,493 and the one living most cheaply Rs. 1,299. Up to this time the College had fixed only what a boy had to pay for lodging, tuition, and supervision; what he paid for his food, servants, clothing, and

all personal expenses, was fixed by his father or guardian. This arrangement not only led to some extravagance but also violated the principle that I wanted to get established thatt all boys in a school should be treated alike as much as possible. Moreover, it was too expensive an arrangement for the new type of boy whom I wanted to attract. The alternative, first proposed in this year, that later on became established, was thatt any boy who would join a common mess and dispense with a private servant should pay an attractively low fee to include almost all his personal expenses, even that of clothes. This fee was first fixed at Rs. 1,200 p.a.; later it was raised to Rs. 1,500; during the most expensive period of the 1939–45 war a charge of Rs. 120 p.a. was added but with a promise thatt it should be remitted as soon as the cost of living decreased.

The Dalton system of studying all subjects except languages was given a good trial for 12 months in 1934–35. It is interesting to read at the end of this chapter the opinion of the present Maharaja of Kanker thatt he learnt more under this system than at any other time in his school-life. The system also has the great merit thatt it trains a boy to work on his own, a training that Indian students seldom receive before entering a University. This experiment failed because, when I tried it, there were too many boys who lacked intellectual curiosity and ability, who saw no need ever to earn their own livings, and who disliked the imposition on themselves of so much responsibility for their own progress. My staff, I think, got nervous about the fate of these boys, and I felt thatt it was unwise to persist in an experiment which had not won their approval. I have often wondered whether I ought not to have persevered: I have no doubt thatt, if the system were reintroduced today, it would meet with much greater success; nevertheless, it is true thatt it works best in a school the senior boys of which know thatt they have got to earn their own livings. I think also thatt I was hasty in introducing the system in the middle of 1934 when I was intending to take leave during most of 1935.

The use of the Project method and the plan of having most subjects taught to a junior class by one teacher were also given a good trial and were given up, because the College failed to find enough teachers of the right type for this work. The Project method requires an extremely versatile teacher and this person is very hard to find.

Some important changes in the staff were made in this year. In August 1933 Mr. Perkins left and Mr. V. S. Forbes, M.A., F.R.G.S., took his place. He was a South African by birth, a 'double-first' honours graduate of Cambridge University, a Commonwealth Fund research scholar, and had been on two Arctic expeditions. He was a

very highly qualified geographer and geologist. Though he did not possess much natural athletic ability, he had a fine physique, took a very active part in all College games, and did much to raise the standard at athletic sports. He was extremely conscientious, hardworking, versatile, and friendly, and rendered valuable service for a little over eight years. A bachelor at first, he married in 1937 and two sons were born at Raipur. Though I was very sorry to lose his services, I have no doubt thatt he was wise to go, not only because his new post in South Africa was certain to suit him much better for family reasons, but also because a man with his very high academical qualifications would be better suited by University than school teaching. After refusing one University post while a bachelor, he accepted, as a married man, another invitation to go to Rhodes University, Grahamstown, and left in December 1941.

Mr. J. B. Kapur spent this year on study-leave in England where he secured a Diploma in Education at London University. Mr. A. K. Das visited Indore to study the teaching of Agriculture and Nature study. Mr. Kapur's absence led me to engage Mr. R. K. D. Kapur, the present Bursar, at first only to fill this leave-vacancy. Later on he was given a permanent post. Kaluram Thakur, who had been the Doctor since 1917, left at my request; and after an unsatisfactory trial of an A.M.O. loaned from the C.P. Medical Service, the experiment was tried of borrowing a doctor, Jemadar V. S. Gaikwad, from the Indian Army Medical Depatment. The Jemadar was an extremely nice man and a competent doctor, but his cost to the College was higher than it was justified in affording. Another important appointment to the staff was that of Mr. P. C. Mathew who has been in charge of a boarding-house and of most of the physical education for the last eleven years.

During this year, Mr. Bhargava and Mr. Dutta left with their wards and the only private tutor left was Mr. Baleshwar Prasad who for the next ten years acted as guardian of the boys living in my house. I much regret to have to record his death in Raipur in 1945: he was a most faithful servant of Surguja State. Basroo, the head chaprassi, died in service in 1934, he had been appointed by Mr. Oswell in 1894 and had served without a break ever since.

Recurring receipts in this year totalled Rs. 1,23,328 against an expenditure of Rs. 1,21,413. The Maharaja of Surguja and his Maharani gave yet another proof of their inexhaustible generosity by the gift of Rs. 1,000 each in memory of Mr. Drake, I.C.S., the last C.P. official to be Political Agent at Raipur. This money, I feel somewhat ashamed to admit, has never been spent; it was paid into the Golden Jubilee Fund with the Maharaja's consent where it has

been earning interest. The present intention is thatt this Fund shall be used after the 1939–45 war to build the Stow Hall. It seems desirable to include in it some memorial to Mr. Drake.

The policy of lending money on the security of land-mortgages was now being executed; nearly two and a half lakhs of rupees were lent in this year, and in the summer of 1934 four lakhs more were lent to Nandgaon State which was in financial difficulty. To raise these sums, several securities were sold at a good profit. A profit of Rs. 47,479 was secured in this year alone; the Investment Reserve account of the College today shows a credit balance of Rs. 72,864–4–2. Practically all of this sum was secured during the years 1933–36 by realizing the capital appreciation of securities and lending the sale proceeds on mortgage. In this way, the loss of over Rs. 40,000 sustained by the sale of C.P. Railway shares in 1931–32 was made good.

The College Stores was opened in this year when the present building was built. The Modi who had been supplying the College with foodstuffs ceased to be allowed to trade in the grounds and the building that he had been allowed to erect was bought from him and demolished. The Stores gradually came to supply nearly all the daily wants of staff and boys and, thanks mainly to Mr. A. K. Das and the two Managers who have worked under him, Messrs. Nanekar and Dhurandhar, has been a successful and very profitable concern. It was at first a co-operative venture; the capital of Rs. 10,000 was subscribed 55% by the College, 30% by the staff and 15% by the boys. Later, when the College needed to increase its income, Staff and boys voluntarily sold their shares to the College which paid nearly Rs. 15 for a Rs. 10 share. The building was built by means of a loan from the College which was soon repaid, but its then value was taken into account when the shareholders were bought out.

The new electrical installation and well D had both been completed and were in use. Though the former had cost about Rs. 23,000 net, it was found thatt about Rs. 3,000 would be saved on the annual bill for electrical energy. During this year and for the next seven years large sums were spent on the improvement of old, and the building of new, masters' houses. There is no house in the grounds at present occupied by a Class I or Class II member of the staff that has not either been built since 1933 or very substantially renovated. Two old houses for masters that stood on the site of the Swimming Bath were demolished.

Numbers rose to 46 or 47, the records not showing clearly which figure is correct. There were 12 admissions of whom (a good sign) only five were conscripts, while there were nine departures. Four boys

sat for and passed the Diploma examination, one in the second, three in the third division, and were placed 8th, 9th, 17th and 25th. This was no result to give any justification for boasting. Twenty-one boys had by now joined a common mess. The chief effort of the year in the teaching department was directed towards development of out-of-school education. The farm was used by those interested in farming and gardening. Carpentry, drawing, painting, and music attracted others. The Magazine ceased to be written mainly by masters and became the vehicle by which a boy with a literary taste could freely express himself in Hindi or Oriya as well as in English. The debating society also began to arrange not only English but also Hindi and Oriya debates. Mr. Forbes and Mr. S. N. Kunzru tried to revive the scout troop and cub pack. The success of *The Merchant of Venice* in 1932 induced the dramatic society to undertake to stage a play in English, Hindi, or Oriya, at least once a year. Mr. J. B. Kapur encouraged photography as a hobby; and educational tours to the iron and steel works at Jamshedpur and the cotton mill at Rajnandgaon were made in termtime. These instances are sufficient to show thatt the College was full of out-of-school activity at this time. Some critics said 'too full', and perhaps they were right; with only 47 boys covering a big age-range, there are many very desirable educational activities that cannot be attempted for want of enough boys to go round.

Two more arrangements concerning the boys deserve at least a short notice. The Star and Stripe system of keeping a record of each boy's progress was instituted in the middle of 1934. I got the idea from a preparatory school that I visited in England and modified it to suit local conditions. The system has now worked well for nearly 12 years. Secondly, the boys were for the first time treated generously over 'outside' matches in this year. Mr. Coke-Wallis, I.C.S., then Secretary to the Resident, brought an Agency football team and matches were played with teams from Khandpara and Raigarh States.

Finally, Naresh Chandra Singh, Jubraj of Sarangarh State, very kindly started compiling at my request the first edition of the Old Boys' Register. The coat of arms, designed by the Raja of Dhenkanal, and the motto that he selected स्वदेशे पूज्यते राजा विद्धन् सर्वत्र पूज्यते were accepted by the Council unanimously; and the design and selection of the College colours were placed in the capable hands of the late Raja Bahadur of Sarangarh State, on whom the very well-earned honour of a C.I.E. had just been conferred.

1934–35.

To get the boys to work harder, learn more, and develop their latent skills—these seem to have been the main objects of this year, though they were not confined to this year only.

The academical standard reached by the top class during my first quinquennium was low, but it is not easy satisfactorily to answer the question why it was low. The results of the Diploma candidates of 1930–35 compared poorly with those of the 1920–26 period; and it is probably true thatt the College had some unusually able boys during the earlier period. But there is little doubt thatt the standard of the Diploma examination in 1930–35 was higher and the competition far keener. Therefore, a comparison of results is misleading. I have given my opinion in Chapter III thatt between 1927 and 1931 the College went through a bad time and suffered very much from a discontented, unreliable staff. I believe thatt the teaching-work deteriorated under that great handicap. I started my principalship with very nearly a new staff which contained many good masters; but nearly every newcomer was taking up his first teaching post and so was very raw and inexperienced. It took some time for them to master their profession; for a long time they and I progressed mainly by methods of trial and error.

I think, however, thatt we may fairly claim thatt what we lacked in experience we made good by effort. There was very little that could be tried that we did not try. Mention has been made already of class-teaching in junior classes, the Project method, the Dalton plan. The Vice-Chancellor of Nagpur University visited the College to advise on what would have to be done in order to secure recognition of the College as an Intermediate College. Special syllabuses were worked out for backward boys. Sanskrit and practical agriculture became compulsory subjects. A petrol-gas plant was installed in the Science Laboratory. The Library was greatly improved, thanks to a gift of Rs. 1,000 from the Dowager Rani of Nandgaon State. Outside lecturers were invited; three of the year's lectures were on food, Japan, and lac. The proposal to take boys on an annual educational tour in term-time was approved, though the first tour was not actually made until February 1936. The first murmurs were heard about the superiority of the Cambridge over the Diploma examination. Mr. Das went to Moga to study the working of the Project method. He was followed there in 1935–36 by Messrs. Raghoraj Singh, Sovani and Gadre, all of whom learnt much from Dr. and Mrs. Harper. Mr. Kanetkar, the Art Master, resigned and it was decided to employ a more highly qualified man in his place. Mr. Gadre spent the year

at Leeds University where he not only secured a Diploma in Education but also a hockey blue. He then stayed on to attend a short course at the Carnegie College of Physical Education.

These were some of the chief efforts of this time to raise the standard of work inside the classrooms. I felt very strongly, however, thatt it must be raised outside the classrooms as well, if boys were to get at the College anything that could truly be called education. It was our duty to develop not only a boy's mind but the whole of him. So the College started to offer a number of out-of-school activities, in spite of the objections that had been raised to these in 1930. Many more were at first offered than the number of boys justified, but this extravagance was deliberate. It was desirable thatt every boy old enough should make some good use of his spare-time; hitherto boys had badly failed to do so; and it was thought thatt the more that was offered them the easier it would be for them to find something on which to make a start. Activities like private reading, debating, gardening, farming, carpentry, typewriting, model-making, sketching, music, hut-building, social service, dancing, camping, cubbing, photography, dramatics and first-aid, were all offered: not all of them at one time, but most of them simultaneously and all of them within a few years. Time for them was found on Wednesday and Thursday afternoons, and it was at this time thatt early morning-school became the rule on Saturday mornings in order thatt a boy might feel himself completely free from mid-day on that day till Sunday evening. The College, of course, laid itself open, by embarking on this programme, to the charge thatt it was attempting too much. The charge was made, to give one instance only, by Mr. F. K. Clark, the Inspector of 1935, and it was pertinent; but it may perhaps now be recognized thatt to offer temporarily a great variety of activities was a practical way of arousing permanent interest in some and of finding out which those were. Of the activities mentioned above, it may be said in 1945 thatt private reading, debating, farming, drawing and painting, music, social service, photography, and dramatics have permanently established themselves. I wish thatt wood and metal work could have done so also, but we never found a really competent instructor.

Before leaving this topic of the academical and cultural standards to be reached, more may be usefully said about the Dalton Plan which was tried from July 1934 to April 1935. I have already in this chapter said thatt the experiment was terminated and given reasons why. I refer to it again, because I believe thatt the boys of the top three classes in 1945 have reached a high enough standard and possess sufficient intellectual ambition, to make it possible to try the plan again with a

much greater chance of success; and if I were remaining as Principal for another five years I certainly should experiment with it again. Apart from any other merits it may have, the plan is the best method that I know of preparing boys to work by themselves, the ability to do which it is essential for an undergraduate to possess. I therefore, quote what Mr. V. S. Forbes, while I was on leave, wrote in the Annual Report for 1934–35 on this subject:

'In the previous year preparations were made to introduce this year in the four senior classes teaching on the Dalton plan in History, Geography, Science, Mathematics and General Knowledge. An account of this system appears in the College Magazine for December 1934, and quotations from the article will show why it was introduced here. "The Plan is designed to foster the spirit of self-reliance. The teacher is no longer in the position of the dominating authority but becomes instead a counsellor and guide. Under the traditional system the teacher instructed his class as a body at a pace too slow for those boys at the top and too fast for those at the bottom. Under the Dalton plan each boy pursues his individual way at a pace suited to his capabilities, and no work can be passed by until it has been mastered. A slow boy does not progress rapidly, but at least it is assured that he has understood all he has done. A quick boy goes ahead and is not held back by the less capable. . . . It inculcates the habit of planning ahead. It teaches a boy to think for himself and thus anticipates the situation which arises when he leaves school and no longer has a master at hand to plan his steps or solve his difficulties. Since the object of all school training should be proficiency after school, the system which works best to achieve that aim must be adopted here. We believe it to be the Dalton plan."'

The quality of the work done was satisfactory as revealed in the examinations at the end of the year. In setting the papers a wide choice of questions was allowed in order to provide for boys who had started level but in the course of the year had maintained different rates of progress. Those who had progressed most rapidly were not invariably those who had retained their knowledge best, as some of the laggards came to the fore in the examinations. Valuable lessons were learnt by the boys in the use of the reference-libraries attached to each Dalton subject and in extracting for themselves knowledge from books. This 'incidental learning' arising out of the system has great value as a preparation for after-school life, whether a boy is designed for higher education or not.

The quantity of the work done gave rise to no serious misgivings at first, as it was expected thatt the boys would require some time in which to accustom themselves to the innovation. To maintain an average rate of progress and keep pace with the syllabus a boy was required to do 26 units of Dalton work a week in addition to his work in English

and Indian Languages. In the first term of the year the average number of units done per boy per week was 13 only, and the highest average for any boy was 16, the lowest 10. Every effort was made to accelerate progress in the next two terms but with small success. There is no doubt thatt the system was never really popular with the boys, and it requires enthusiastic co-operation to be a success. Kumars as a class lack something of the spirit of emulation. They are all too conscious of the fact thatt they need not have successful school careers to obtain a living when they leave school.

During the third term the average number of units done per boy per week was 14 only, and the highest average for any boy was 19, the lowest 10. Thatt the task set to the boys was not impossible may be judged from the fact thatt a boy on one occasion completed 32 units in a week when a temporary incentive to exert himself appeared.

At the end of the year each master taking a subject in the Dalton plan submitted a report and from these the following conclusions were drawn. There was unanimous agreement as to the great value of the plan in stimulating self-reliance and personal initiative, qualities which in kumars are generally in defect. The work had been done thoroughly and each boy's position was a fair measure of the effort he had exerted, whereas under the class-teaching method the idle and less-gifted boys, irrespective of their efforts, are often swept along together with the able and industrious ones in the general progress of the class. The reports showed thatt it would be impracticable to reduce the number of units in the year's work for each subject without neglecting essential portions of the syllabus.

Considerable pressure had been put upon the boys in the latter half of the year in order to increase the quantity of work done by them, yet this pressure had brought the average only to 14 units a week. An attempt to raise this average to nearly double would have put pressure on boys and staff alike that would have been intolerable. The unwelcome fact was obvious thatt the plan had to be abandoned.

Proposals to confine the Dalton plan to the lowest of the four senior classes and each year to extend it to the next higher class till all four senior classes became daltonised were rejected on the grounds thatt there were not the staff, the classrooms or the equipment to render this feasible, though undoubtedly this would have been the ideal arrangement. Whether the plan would have succeeded at that time if introduced gradually in this way I have grave doubts, for the incentive to work would still have been lacking and it was this more than anything else that caused me to abandon the Dalton plan here.

I have already mentioned the several steps taken to improve the

professional competence of the staff. It gave great pleasure that Mr. S. R. Pinge, who had served the College since 1913 and had been Headmaster since 1931, was now given the title of Rao Sahib. Mr. Mathew in June 1934 and Mr. Hermon in January 1935 were two of my 'happy' appointments; but they were unfortunately neutralized for the time being by two consecutive 'unhappy' ones to the important post of Housemaster of the senior boarding-house.

Mr. Hermon's appointment to the post of Building Superintendent was an act of new staffing policy. Up to 1935 the College had employed a man who was primarily a good athlete and only secondarily one capable of looking after construction and repairs. Any major constructional work was done by a local contractor. Mr. Hermon, on the other hand, was no athlete at all, but he was an experienced civil engineer and received double the salary that any 'Grounds and Games Superintendent' had ever received. Since 1935 no contractor has done any work inside the grounds. Mr. Hermon has built seven masters' houses, the swimming bath, central lawn, sports pavilion and track, and two high-level reservoirs; and has sunk four wells. He has renovated eight other masters' houses, and carried out innumerable additions, alterations, or repairs, to every building. No one has expostulated and argued with him, harried and been harried by him more than I! But I am glad to have this opportunity of stating my opinion that Mr. Hermon has done sound, honest, and invaluable work and that year after year he has saved the College large sums of money which contractors would have pocketed. The buildings themselves are his testimonial. The College now owns so many buildings that a well paid, well qualified, engineer seems to me a permanent necessity on the staff.

I was on leave during nearly the whole of 1935 and Mr. Bhargava returned to help the staff during my absence.

Though receipts totalled only Rs. 1,34,386 against an expenditure of Rs. 1,38,618, this was not really a deficit-year, as a sum of Rs. 13,316 placed to reserve is included in this expenditure.

Another large sum was lent out on mortgage and in order to find this sum another good profit was made by selling securities that had appreciated in value. This was the year when loans to States and Estates on mortgage reached their peak.

An important financial decision concerned the school fees that a boy should be asked to pay. In order to encourage a boy to join a mess and dispense with private servants, he was to pay an inclusive fee of Rs. 1,200 p.a. only, if he did both. If he joined a mess but brought a servant, he was to pay Rs. 1,500; and if he did neither, he

was to be charged as much as possible! This rule succeeded in getting boys to mess together and encouraged boys of other than the 'kumar' class to come, but it was less successful in persuading kumars to give up their private servants.

The College made a most profitable purchase in this year—that of 22 acres of land outside the western boundary fence. It did so at the time without thought of profit in order to prevent that area's being built over. But later on the area was fenced and planted with a special fodder grass which has flourished exceedingly and now provides the dairy with nearly all its annual requirement of hay. Probably the hay is now worth nearly Rs. 1,000 a year, whereas the cost of the land and its fencing was only Rs. 1,800.

The Golden Jubilee Fund was opened in this year in the hope thatt supporters of the College would each consent to donate a small sum annually for ten years. This hope suffered disappointment, but intermittent canvassing has resulted in the collection of Rs. 38,559 up to the present time. It has not been finally decided how this money is to be spent, but it will be used in some way that will commemorate the name of Mr. Stow.

The engineering projects of the year were the construction of two semi-detached masters' houses to the north of the running track and the further development of a private water supply.

I made a bad mistake over the location of these houses, which were intended to provide residences for married housemasters. The site chosen was too far from the boarding-houses: it was a good site for a master's, but not a housemaster's, house. One ought to have been built on the old morning-parade ground, the other where the Swimming Bath now stands.

Mr. V. S. Sarangdhar, Town Chemist of the Iron and Steel Company at Jamshedpur, kindly came to give his advice on water-problems. This was the first, but by no means the last, occasion on which this Company has shown friendliness to the College. The two wells at the S. E. corner of the cricket ground were cleaned, deepened, and in due course covered and provided with handpumps. The College has had an excellent supply of drinking water from them ever since. The old well behind Capt. Evans Bell's 1856 house was also cleaned and covered and fitted with a deep-well pump driven by a Petter oil engine. This well supplies all the houses in the north-west corner of the grounds with water. The new well at the south gate was also covered and fitted with the same types of pump and engine but of larger size. Up to this time they could deliver water only to the gardens and farm.

Nothing has been said so far in this chapter of the popularity of the annual Old Boys' Gatherings of this decade. The first big gathering was that of 1930 to meet the Viceroy, Lord Irwin (now Halifax). Many guests decided thatt they would enjoy coming every year. At the gathering in 1934, for instance, 65 Rulers, Zemindars, and Old Boys were present. Gatherings during my principalship usually lasted three days. On the first a past and present hockey match was played with a past and present dinner in the evening. On the second, the Old Boys' Association (after it was formed) used to meet in the morning; the Prizegiving was held in the afternoon, and was followed by an art exhibition, a garden party, and by some entertainment provided by the boys, usually athletic sports or dramatics. There was often a concert in the evening. On the third day the Council met and the revelries ended with a tennis party. Largely because the College not only provided this programme for its guests but also (unique in this respect) accommodated nearly all of them, the annual gathering threw a strain on the Principal and staff that at times seemed intolerable. Nevertheless, these gatherings did much to stimulate and maintain interest in the College and were excellent propaganda on its behalf.

Lieut.-Col. A. S. Meek, C.M.G., the second Resident, Eastern States, presided at the 1934 prizegiving and I have known no Resident who took more interest in or trouble to help the College. He gave a very useful collection of books to the Library. His visit was followed soon after by two other notable ones: one from His Excellency Sir Hyde Gowan, Governor of the Central Provinces; and the other from Mr. and Mrs. Barry of the Aitchison College, Lahore, and a party of their boys. From this visit dates a very happy friendship of my own, much co-operation and good feeling between the Aitchison College and the College, and—perhaps I may say—the sowing of the seed that in 1939 germinated as the Indian Public Schools Conference. A sum of Rs. 100 that the Lahore party did not owe but insisted on giving to the College was spent on importing trees from Lahore, which were planted to the west of my house where a metal plate records the gift. During the 1931–41 period the whole area to the west and south-west of the Principal's house was gradually cleared of weeds and unsightly bushes and an attempt was made to plant in it every tree of economic importance in the Central Provinces' forests. Many trees and much grass now flourish there, but Nature has thought it better to replace some of the special trees (i.e. Sal) that we wanted to grow by others of her own choosing, more suited by the soil and climate of Raipur.

There were still only 46 boys in April 1935, of whom twenty came from the E.S.A., twenty-two from the Central Provinces, three

from South Bihar, and one from Orissa. Boys of new classes had not yet started to come. Nevertheless, it was encouraging that of nine new boys in 1935 all consented to mess together and five came without servants, taking advantage of the new scales of fees. By the end of the year, thirty boys were messing together. Only one boy sat for the Diploma; he was a weak candidate who managed to pass in the third division.

Efforts to give the boys more 'away' matches met with success. Matches were played not only against the Aitchison College and Kanker State, but no fewer than seven teams from outside came to play football —always the most popular game in these parts.

A very sad event was the death of Virapam Bhai of Bastar State who had recently left the College. He was one of the very few who were aiming at useful careers, so that it was most regrettable that he should have contracted blackwater fever in the jungles of Coimbatore where he was training as a forest officer.

I thought it necessary to devote two pages of the Annual Report on the year to the need for Old Boys to take up useful careers and to my disciplinary policy which was meeting with some criticism.

As much is said in other parts of this book about the extreme difficulty that the College has invariably experienced in persuading parents of kumars to allow them to use their education for any useful purpose, it will be superfluous to say more in this place than that this 'call for careers' was but a voice calling in the wilderness.

There is a reference in Chapter IV to my general disciplinary policy during my principalship. It can be summed up in two maxims. 'A boy will never learn to do right who has no chance to do wrong'; and 'good behaviour is valuable only when it persists in a master's absence'. I, therefore, gave boys more freedom, less supervision, and in consequence more chances of abusing trust placed in them. I relied more and more, as the years passed, on the privileged boys to establish a good tone and a healthy public opinion. There were occasions on which privileged boys failed me and boys abused their increased freedom. Some people thought that these were warnings that I had gone too far and too fast, and that I ought to run fewer risks of scandals. The years 1934–36 were years when I almost despaired. I, however, continued to put my faith in the two maxims stated above and in the conviction that, if a boy is going to misbehave, the best place for his lapse is his school, where he is most likely to learn something permanently useful from his folly. Whether I was right or merely lucky, I should not like to say; but it is a fact that during my last three or four years scandals were rare, and tone and behaviour noticeably good.

The Council finally approved the Dhenkanal coat of arms and motto during the year; and a start was made with the collection of the coats of arms of all States of the E.S.A., which now hang in the Main Hall.

1935–36.

It should be understood by the reader thatt, though the events in this chapter and Chapter III are recorded year by year, it is impossible to say that several of them took place in one year rather than another. They were recurring, or parts of a process of change and development that was continuous. Much that has been stated to have occurred in the years previous to this one was also occurring in this year and the following ones.

The Council decided to seek affiliation to Nagpur University, and after a formal inspection by Doctors Sen Gupta and De, the application was granted and the College was recognized as competent to prepare candidates for the Intermediate Arts examination from July 1936. I should very much have preferred thatt it had been recognized, to begin with, as competent to teach only the Science group of subjects, as these open the way to many promising and not overcrowded professions. But the University did not—and I believe still does not—trust an affiliated College to choose a competent staff. The College found it impossible to comply with the regulations concerning the staff necessary to teach Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry and Biology up to Inter-Science standard without treating some existing masters unfairly and engaging at least one new teacher who would have had less than half a day's work. I have expressed the hope in Chapter VI thatt the college will teach post-certificate scientific subjects in the future, but for the above reason it cannot allow University regulations to dictate what masters it must employ.

So started intermediate classes, for which some Orissa Rulers had been crying out ever since 1922, but which they treated very coldly once they had been established. I need not recapitulate the reasons for starting them as they have been discussed at some length in Chapters IV and VI; I should, however, call attention to the fact thatt Sir George Anderson in his third report of 1936 warned the College thatt, unless numbers rose quickly and largely, it could not afford to keep these classes open. He was proved to be right.

Sir George's third and last report was again mainly devoted to the themes thatt there was no future for the College, unless it could attract 120 boys; thatt the old recruiting ground was never likely to provide more than sixty at a time; and thatt, therefore, at least sixty

boys of other classes must be recruited. Lieut.-Col. Murphy, Political Agent, Orissa States, was strongly of the same opinion. What had been and was being done to remove any justification for the old charge thatt a Chief's College was a school where the minimum of work was done in the maximum of luxury was admirable so far as it went; but it did not go far enough, if it did not rapidly raise the numbers.

Numbers did increase slightly this year, from 47 to 52. Forty-one of these boys had no cooks of their own; there were only seven private cooks left and 58 private servants. By the middle of 1936 three boys of the new type had broken the ice and entered the College. The first of these, Robin Solomon, has had a very good career in the Indian Army since leaving the College. Another good sign was thatt no one of the eleven boys admitted in this year was a conscript; all of them were sent voluntarily by their parents. In fact, from about this time on, I tried to avoid rather than attract the 'Court of Wards' boy.

Both the Inspectors begged the Council to relax its very strict and inconvenient rules concerning the admission of non-kumars, and I am glad to say thatt their advice was listened to. At this time great delay and real fear of a rebuff had to be endured by a parent wanting to get one of these boys into the College. From this time also dated the rule thatt only bonafide residents of Raipur could send their sons as day-boys. But for this rule, all the good done by the abolition of private tutors, lodging, messing, and servants, could be undone; for which reason, I suppose, it is a rule that has often been attacked and over which I have earned considerable unpopularity.

Efforts continued to encourage boys to seek independent careers. Mr. Raghoraj Singh, as the first careers-master, collected information on a variety of careers. More lectures were given by visitors describing their own careers, such as medicine, police, surveying, and civil aviation. But parents continue to receive the general proposition thatt a boy ought to put his education to some good use with apathy; and the particular one thatt 'Master A' should enter a certain profession away from his home with a very definite parental veto.

Efforts also continued to be made to raise standards. The present Library came into use and was fitted with book-shelves and furnished, after the billiard table had been moved to the Senior Boarding House. Silent-reading periods were provided. To increase interest in books, the teachers of English and Indian languages read aloud weekly to groups. The first big educational tour was made, to the Jharia coalfields, Calcutta, Kharagpur, and Tatanagar. Plans for an annual forestry tour were set on foot. Help was offered from Lyallpur, Punjab, to improve the syllabuses in nature-study and agriculture. Permission

was obtained for a group of boys to learn carpentry in the local Industrial school. The small boys all had their intelligence-quotients calculated in order to give their teachers a better understanding of their capacity to learn. A club was formed whose members devoted Saturday afternoons to various forms of social service.

No startling results followed immediately upon the introduction of these activities, though I hope some good seed germinated. There was one failure in the 1936 Diploma examination; two boys passed 10th and 14th in the second division, one 19th in the third. Perhaps it may be said thatt the oldest boys in each class were by now not so old as they had been five or six years earlier; but they were still a good deal older than they ought to have been. There was a boy of 18 in both Class II and Class III and one of 16 in both Class IV and Class V. What was still more unsatisfactory was the big age-range in each class; Class I 13–19, Class II 15–18, Class III 12–18, Class IV 12–16, Class V 11–16, Class VI 9–15, Class VII 9–11, Class VIII 9–12. For lack of more suitable boys, boys were still being admitted at too old an age in too backward a condition. I made a proposal to the Educational Commissioner in this year, which was not accepted, thatt no boy should be allowed to sit for the Diploma examination in April, who on the previous January 1st had passed his 19th birthday.

The work of training and improving the staff continued. Mr. U. S. Tomar was appointed as the new Art Master. He was a graduate and held a Diploma in Education of London University, so he was a much more highly qualified teacher than any former art master. He did good work till he joined the C.P. Educational Service in 1938 and was an acquisition to the staff; but he was a better teacher of other subjects than art, the one that he was employed mainly to teach. Soon after his arrival the present Art Room was improvised by making use of some unused verandahs and passages. It remains today what it has always been—a makeshift, and I have expressed the hope in Chapter VI thatt the College, before long, will have a new Art Room designed for the purpose on modern lines. Mr. Raghoraj Singh who was for five months under training at Moga, was followed by Mr. Sovani and he by Mr. Gadre, soon after the latter's return from Leeds University. Dr. and Mrs. Harper of Moga were extremely well qualified, as well as most generously inclined, to teach modern methods of handling junior classes to these three young masters.

In Sir George Anderson's inspection report of 1936 is found the first mention of two changes of staffing policy that later on were made with great success, in my opinion. The first was the recommendation to employ a nursing sister either in addition to or in place of a resident

RAJA RAMANAJ PRATAP SINGH DEO B.A.

Ruler of Korea State

doctor; the second to have a mistress to teach the young boys. Sir George was thinking not only of the young boys then in the college (many fewer than now), but of the assurance and comfort that the presence of two ladies on the staff would be likely to afford to the parents of young boys coming in future without private servants. As these servants decreased, the responsibility of the College increased and also the work which a woman is better fitted to do.

It is an indication of the increased attention that the Committee was paying to the question of staff thatt the superior staff salary bill in 1931 was Rs. 45,694 and in 1936–37 Rs. 58,244.

The Building Department had a busy year. The present Headmaster's house and the detached house near it were built; extensive alterations and repairs were carried out in the 'Evans Bell' house, which had to be almost entirely reroofed; all the remaining masters' houses were supplied with electrical energy; the three rooms at the east end were added to the Science Laboratory to provide space for the teaching of Physics and Biology; it was also decided to construct two water-reservoirs in 1936–37 and plans were prepared. Rs. 1,250 were spent on equipment for the Laboratory and Rs. 500 on the Library.

The separation of Orissa from Bihar and the recognition of the former as a new province necessitated some changes in the College constitution. The Governor of Orissa became a Patron and appointed his representative on the Council; instead of four Zemindars from Bihar and Orissa as one unit, Bihar was to nominate two and Orissa two. Colonel Meek again presided at the Council meeting in December 1935; and it was another sign of the popularity of the Old Boys Gatherings of that time thatt he found 22 members to meet him. I was permitted to address the Council on the subject of careers, but later history shows thatt I made no impression. The subject of careers for Rajkumars will not be mentioned again at any length during this chapter, as to do so would be merely to record failure after failure; but it should be understood thatt, throughout the rest of my principalship, it was a sore subject that was constantly in my mind and on my lips.

A new Committee was elected in December with Raja Ramanuj Pratap Singh Deo of Korea as Chairman. The other elected members were the Rulers of Sakti, Kawardha, Seraikella, Baudh and Daspalla States, the Rajas of Khariar and Parikud, and the Thakurs of Jaria and Komakhan.

Commenting on a visit paid this year by Mr. Khaparde, then Education Minister of the Central Provinces, I called attention to a handicap for which I fear thatt there is no remedy. Very few leaders

of public opinion come to Raipur on their own business, so very few of them can see the College without trouble and be persuaded to take an interest in it. A school in a city like Lahore or Dehra Dun has a much better chance of building up a good reputation for itself, because visitors of influence visit such cities often of their own accord, and can spare the time to see the schools in them. I tried to get such people to the College on several occasions; Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Munje, and Sir S. Radhakrishnan are three whom I remember to have come, but they have to be given a special invitation and busy men are seldom willing to make a long journey only to see a school.

This was a prosperous financial year; receipts totalled Rs. 1,56,895 against expenditure Rs. 1,37,848. Rs. 10,000 of the balance were placed in reserve. It may be of interest to give the figures of the net annual Government of India grant of this period, arrived at after deducting the amount paid to Government on account of my Leave and Pension contribution: 1932 Rs. 5,083, 1933 Rs. 4,942, 1934 Rs. 4,671, 1935 Rs. 4,518, 1936 Rs. 2,445; useful, but not wildly lavish, sums.

A further 2¾ acres of waste-land on the outskirts of Dangania village to the south of the boundary fence were bought. This land has not been developed, as there is a right-of-way over it and the College title to the land is a little shaky. But the main object of purchase, to prevent the area's being built over, has up to now been achieved.

The net profit on the College Stores in 1935 was Rs. 2,200 and in 1936 Rs. 1,300. The latter figure was the second lowest annual profit of the last decade.

Mr. Mathew started his physical-efficiency tests in this year and they have now established themselves as an important feature of the annual programme of physical training. He found in 1935 thatt, though a boy might play a useful game of, say, football and tennis, he was often very lacking in several useful physical skills. The tests are ones of a boy's all-round physical efficiency. They teach him to know his own body and help him to correct its weaknesses. In this first year only three boys possessed first class (blue ribbon) efficiency; nine, second class (red ribbon); and 20 third class (yellow ribbon). Eighteen had no efficiency worthy of record. So successful have these tests been thatt since 1935 their standards have twice had to be raised considerably. Nearly every boy in the College today would regard as absurdly easy the tests that defeated most of the boys of 1935. The tests started and the building of the swimming bath later reinforced, a drive to make every boy into a swimmer.

The first signs were visible in this year thatt riding was losing

the important place it had long occupied. One reason was that the new type of parent could not afford the cost; but another stronger and deeper one was that the horse, as a means of both locomotion and recreation, was retiring in favour of the motor-car. Government officers now rarely kept ponies; polo was dead; fewer and fewer boys rode at home in their vacations; more and more cherished the ambition, not to gallop 'flat out' across country, but to hoot horns and stamp on accelerators.

Raja Bahadur Birendra Bahadur Singh of Khairagarh, who from this time on has been as good a friend to the College as his father was, was installed in this year.

The first edition of the Old Boys' Register was issued; and the College colours, broad stripes of green and mauve and narrow ones of dark and light blue and white, were finally chosen.

1936–37.

While no event stands out prominently in this year, plenty of struggles were going on to keep me occupied; struggles to improve the staff, to raise the standard and widen the content of the education given; to establish intermediate classes; to cheapen the cost of schooling; to increase numbers; to recruit a new type of boy; to get rid of private servants; to attract visitors; to improve housing and water supply; to keep the constitution up to date.

If it is a sign of healthy growth that a school's Governing Body is frequently amending its rules, the College in my time has been healthy, for changes in the constitution have been frequent. A Committee of 14 members had been found cumbersome and was reduced to nine again, consisting of two Chhattisgarh, two Orissa and one Bengal Ruler, the Political Agent, Raipur, one of the representatives of the Patrons each in turn for a year, and two Zemindars chosen by the Council. From this time onwards the Principal ceased to have a vote either in Council or Committee, but continued to be Secretary of both Bodies, with a right to speak. As the States of Tripura, Cooch Behar, and Mayurbhanj, known as the Bengal States, had become part of the Eastern States Agency, their Rulers became ex-officio members of the Council and were given the right, which they have not so far exercised, to elect one of themselves to sit on the Committee. Until 1945, when the Tripura Darbar sent four boys to the College, these states took little interest in it.

Raja Bahadur Jawahir Singh of Sarangarh succeeded Colonel Meek as first Ruler-President of the Council; since that election the President has always been a Ruler. The Raja Sahib of Korea State was reelected

Chairman of the Committee. I made two proposals to the Council, when sixteen members met in December 1936; thatt a Rajkumari School should be opened and thatt there should be a school in the College grounds for servants' children; but the former school even today has not been founded, and the latter has been run not by the Council, but by the Seva Samiti.

From 1933 to 1936 there was no Political Agent at Raipur, and the College felt considerable inconvenience in consequence. In this year, however, the post was filled again and the first incumbent was Lieut-Col. R. G. Hinde, than whom no Political Agent that I have known has taken more personal interest in wards of the Political Department at the College. He and the then Educational Commissioner, Mr. J. E. Parkinson, inspected the College in 1937, and once again the inspectors emphasized the great need to raise numbers to 120; but Col. Hinde expressed the view, which the experience of the last ten years has, I think, shown to be erroneous, thatt at least 100 'kumars' could be recruited and thatt there was, therefore, no need to recruit more than a very few 'non-kumars'. Just as this opinion was contrary to that given by previous inspectors, so Mr. Parkinson's opinion thatt a success could easily and cheaply be made of intermediate classes was contrary to that of Sir George Anderson. So members of the Council were now armed with good authority for saying either 'yes' or 'no' to either project. Colonel Meek retired early in 1937, but before doing so visited the College three times in one year, a sign of his very keen interest in it. Another distinguished visitor was the late Dr. E. Raghavendra Rao, then acting Governor of the Central Provinces, and a man who could have done much to recruit boys of the new type, if his interest had been secured. Unfortunately, public service soon after took him out of India and he never had the time and opportunity to render help.

There were two other visitors of importance from the educational point of view. Mr. Ghulam Mahammad Khan, B.Sc., Deputy Inspector of Schools for rural science, Punjab, was kindly deputed by his Government to advise us on our new biology syllabus, improvement of the farm, and staffing questions. During the whole of my principalship we were working—often by trial and error methods—to build up a useful biological and agricultural department, to which the orchard and dairy were later additions. The second visitor was Dr. H. F. Mooney, C.I.E., O.B.E., I.F.S., Forest Adviser to the Eastern States Agency, who seems to have paid the first of many visits in this year. This, therefore is a suitable place at which to acknowledge the educational debt that the College owes him. He has made many boys of the last ten

years 'forest-minded', a valuable service in an area in many parts of which forestry earns as much revenue as agriculture. He wrote a most useful little book on forestry from the point of view of the landlord. Until pressure of war-work became too great he delivered four or five lectures a year on forestry; and arranged an annual tour in the forests of various states. In this first year the forests of Gangpur State were visited. Dr. Mooney himself would be the first to disclaim any success in, or even any intention of, teaching the boys forestry; but there is no doubt thatt his efforts have had very great success in interesting many boys in the subject and in giving them an understanding of the importance of a proper system of forest management.

Two other visitors were the Headmasters of the State High Schools of Bastar and Dhenkanal. I have always felt thatt the College, which has been helped by the States so much in the past, ought to do all it can—and more than it has—to help the States. The idea behind this visit of two headmasters was thatt they might pick up ideas which they could use profitably in the improvement of State High Schools. Several other masters from States have visited the College from time to time during the last decade (ten from Bastar State came in 1945 for instance), but I have been disappointed to feel thatt the value of this service has not been much appreciated. The same idea was behind the plan of holding the annual States athletic sports tournament at the College during this and the next two years. Unfortunately, the tournament was thereafter discontinued perhaps because of the difficulty of transport during the 1939–45 war-years.

Though numbers showed no signs of rising in a way to satisfy the Inspectors or me, they did rise this year to 59, of whom only three were boys of the new type. The average age of the boys of the first four classes had dropped to 16·3 years, an improvement on past figures but still not one to be proud of. The 'age-spread' in each of classes II, IV and V was still over five years. The most satisfactory feature of the eleven new admissions was thatt boys were nearly all being sent voluntarily by their parents, and I think it can be said thatt the period of conscript-recruitment was now over. In March 1937 I visited Calcutta, Ganjam, and Vizagapatam in an endeavour to obtain more boys, but no immediate success followed.

A big reorganization of the staff took place in this year. Mr. Gilani's appointment as housemaster was terminated and Mr. Mathew took his place. For the next six years he and Mr. S. N. Kunzru very capably occupied those two important posts. The two posts of assistant housemaster were abolished and it was decided, instead, to have one extra teaching master and a nursing sister who would divide her time

between patients in the hospital and the boys of the junior boarding-house. Mr. Gadre was the obvious choice as the new teaching master, and Mr. Mahapatro, who had been the other assistant housemaster, entered the service of Gangpur State and by 1945 had risen to be Diwan of Kanker State. He was the second of five masters who in my time entered state service on my recommendation. Other ex-masters who found employment in the States were not sponsored by me. Much was written in Chapter III of the difficulty that Mr. Stow found in securing attractive openings for members of his staff who had established their reputations and wished to better themselves. I attempted to solve this difficulty by recommending them for State service, again with the idea at the back of my mind thatt, if I recommended only very good men, the College would be doing a real service to the States as well as satisfying some masters' ambitions.

The first nursing sister appointed was Miss A. M. Barrell who joined in June 1937. I could not have made a better appointment and it was a great loss when she left in 1942 for work in a military hospital.

Jamadar Gaikwad of the Army Medical Service left in April at the end of his three years of deputation. He was the best of all the resident doctors whom I have known, but he was also much the most expensive; to employ a doctor on his salary as well as the Civil Surgeon and a nursing sister has always seemed to me a very unjustifiable expense: it is also an arrangement that leads to friction.

As Nagpur University insisted on intermediate classes' being taught only by teachers with masters' degrees, the Committee had to terminate Mr. B. K. Kar's engagement, though reluctantly. He had for some years been teaching Oriya and History, and his place was taken by Mr. V. C. M. Mohan, who not only could teach the same subjects and Civics as well, but also could write the magic letters, M.A., after his name.

The attitude of Nagpur University—and I believe of other Indian Universities—towards the staffs of affiliated Colleges will have to be ascertained before the College restarts post-matriculation classes. If it is really true thatt Indian Universities cannot safely trust affiliated Colleges to choose suitable teachers and pay them properly of their own accord and in their own long-term interest, that truth is a very sad confession of weakness. It is intolerable for a school to have an outside body dictating whom it shall and shall not employ. The College must not twice surrender its freedom to choose its own teachers.

Mr. Rutnam who had been motor instructor for 16 years retired for reasons of ill health. I did not feel thatt it was necessary for the College to pay a large salary to anyone merely to teach boys how to

drive a car, so his place was filled by a driver not expected to teach at all. At the same time the Drill and P.T. instructors were reduced from two to one.

Mr. V. S. Forbes went on leave in April 1937 to New Zealand and returned in the autumn engaged to be married. To complete the staff required for the intermediate classes, Mr. Jaipal Singh, M.A., a well known hockey player, who had taught at Achimota College, Accra, was engaged to join in June.

The professional training of the staff at Training Colleges was discontinued after this year, in which two masters attended short courses run by Mr. L. G. D'Silva at Bilaspur. I feel thatt the College ought continuously to have one master training or retraining somewhere in the world, and thatt I was short-sighted not to have pressed for the adoption of this policy in 1936 when our first five-year plan of professional training was completed. If it is true thatt a master after some years in a school gets stale, there is no remedy to equal a year of well-chosen study-leave.

I was glad thatt the Committee started in this year to allow sons of masters to study in the College for very reduced fees—a mutually beneficial arrangement.

Mr. Hermon had to work hard again this year. The two water-towers, the garage, the wrestling pit since demolished, and a new pattern of septic-tank latrine for the servants were built. The latter succeeded at long last in bringing the sanitation of the College to a reasonably good standard. From the two water-towers a number of pipelines began to radiate, which now serve all buildings in the grounds and link all wells together. Two masters' houses and the bathrooms in the boarding-houses were extensively altered and improved. Six plots on the farm were terraced and levelled and brought under irrigation-command.

Finance still caused no anxiety with receipts at Rs. 1,58,855 against expenditure of Rs. 1,50,416. Rs. 10,000 were again placed in reserve. I made an investigation into boys' total annual expenses, which I was trying hard throughout this decade to reduce. I found thatt twenty boys living in a mess and having no servants of their own were paying the fixed fee of Rs. 1,500; twenty-three others paid an average sum of about Rs. 1,650; eleven paid between Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 2,500; and four, who paid extra to live with the Vice-Principal or me, paid over Rs. 3,000.

The College was warned thatt it could not expect to receive a Government grant much longer. In 1937–38 it was to receive 2/3rds, in 1938–39 1/3rd, of the full grant; and in and after 1939–40

nothing. Simultaneously, however, the amount payable on account of my Leave and Pension contribution was to be reduced by the same annual fraction. In and after 1939–40 not only would the College not pay it at all, but it would also not have to pay any leave-salary for me. In these indirect ways the College received a grant from Government up to the end of my service.

Prior to this year the College offered only three scholarships to help boys unable to afford the full fees; one Surguja and two Butler scholarships. The Council, very wisely, in my opinion, founded three more in this year, though only of Rs. 200 p.a. each, open to boys from States of the E.S.A. Later on in this chapter the foundation of other scholarships will be recorded; I hope thatt still more will be founded in future, because it is almost hypocritical to announce thatt a school is open to boys of all classes, if its fees are so high thatt most boys cannot afford them. Too often donations to a school are turned into bricks and mortar; they are too rarely invested so thatt the annual interest creates a scholarship.

There was only one Intermediate student in 1936–37. Two boys sat for and passed the Diploma examination, one of whom, the present Maharaja of Kanker, was the first boy since 1926 to win a 'first division' for the College. He was 3rd in order of merit and secured a distinction in every subject but one. The main attention of the staff at this time was being paid to what a boy could be induced to do out of, rather than in, class; and to manual, rather than mental, work. Every boy old enough was now working for a few hours a week on the farm, and some volunteers were receiving instruction in carpentry at the Industrial School, though three miles distant. Mention has already been made of several hobbies for which boys could volunteer; new ones first mentioned in the report of this year were small-game shooting and the keeping of pets. Mr. Forbes also at this time ran a popular gramophone club which introduced boys to western music.

The educational tour took a large number of boys to Sanchi, Agra, Delhi, and Lahore, where they were the guests of the Aitchison College and were most hospitably entertained.

The first small boys' football tournament, which now-a-days attracts 300 boys annually, was organized by Mr. Gadre. Its inclusion in the annual programme of social service marks another step towards the formation of the Seva Samiti.

While these activities occupied the centre of the picture, the struggle against private cooks and servants never ceased in the background. There were now 38 boys in one of three messes; 16 boys had their food cooked by 10 private cooks; and five boys lived in

masters' houses. No boy, of course, was still eating 'in purdah'. The first effort to get rid of 'bungalow boys' was rather diffidently made in the form of a suggestion thatt, though a boy might have much to learn in a private house, he would miss many valuable lessons of a residential school, if he spent none of his time in a boarding-house.

There is nothing else worth recording in this year except thatt I started in it to write this book!

1937–38.

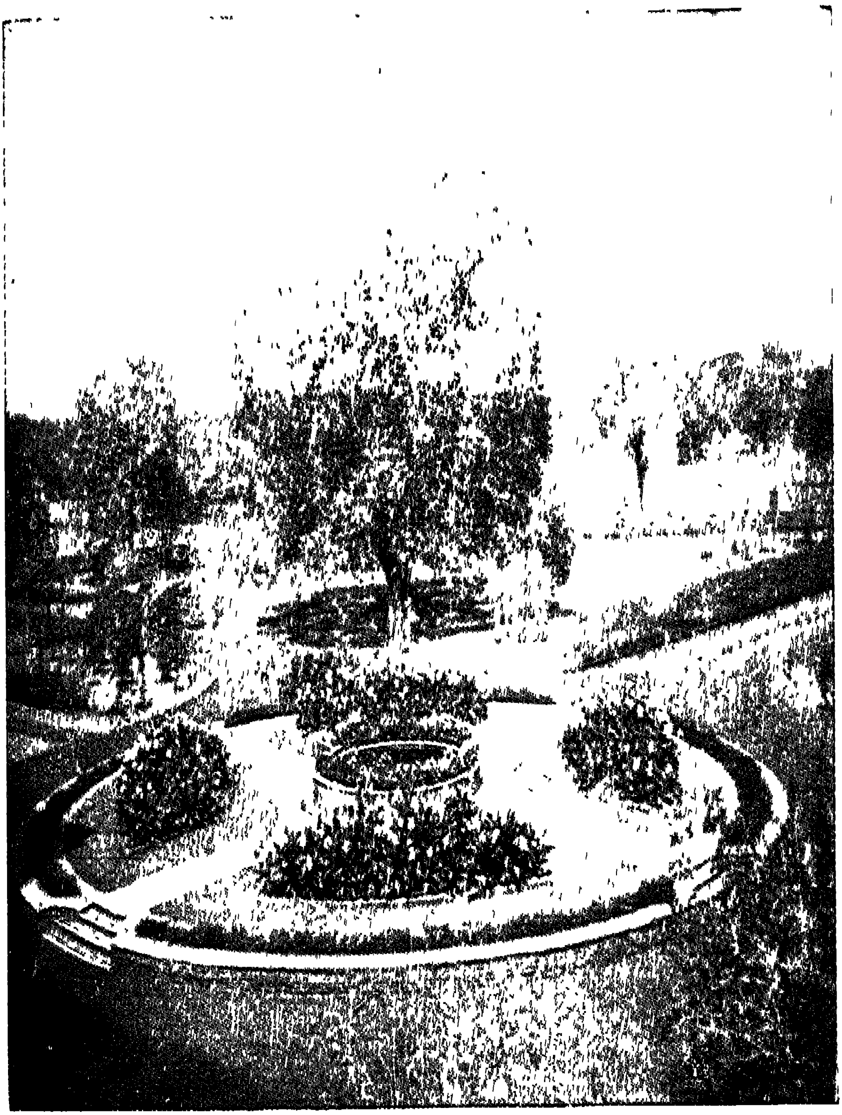
This year brought to the fore a problem very difficult of satisfactory solution, yet one on whose sensible solution the health of a school depends. When a Principal wishes to get rid of a master, what is the Management to do if it does not side with the Principal? Can it order him to retain the master's services? If it can, what is it reasonable to expect him to do in the face of that order? If it cannot, that inability amounts to the grant to the Principal of unfettered control over his staff. If he misuses that power, is it vain for a master to appeal to the Management for protection? This problem faced the committee in the winter of 1937 and again, in perhaps a more difficult form, in 1942–43. Prior to 1937, I had asked the Committee to terminate the services of several members of the Staff, but these requests had caused no difficulties, because the Committee and I had agreed thatt termination was necessary. In December 1937, however, when I asked for termination of a master's services, it became clear thatt, though no one went so far as to say thatt I had no reason to ask for termination, some members (of the Council rather than of the Committee) were inclined to take the master's side rather than mine. Eventually, his services were terminated, but I had to pay a heavy price to secure this result. I annoyed some members of the Council; and I laid myself open to the suspicion thatt I was trying to be master, rather than servant, of the Governing Body. So matters relating to this problem unhappily stood until 1942–43, when my desire to terminate the services of three members of the staff raised the same problem again. It is convenient to record my opinion on this vital subject at this place.

I have always felt thatt a Principal must be sole judge of all members of his staff. He bears the responsibility and so is entitled to pick and discard the staff on whom he depends to help him carry that responsibility. If a Principal is forced to keep on his staff a man in whom he has expressed no confidence, he will lose much of his authority and cannot be blamed if things go wrong, because, when he told his Managers thatt he wanted to change a master, he by that action gave a warning that was not heeded. A school management has

only three courses of action open to it, it seems to me. It can publicly take the side of the assistant master and ask the Principal to resign; it can *privately* take the master's side and warn the Principal thatt the members are not at all pleased with his action, so long as publicly it supports him and lets the master go; and thirdly, it can privately and publicly support the Principal. What in my opinion a school management must never hope for and work for is to retain both the assistant master and the Principal. Of course it is the management which fixes the conditions of service of the staff. The Principal may make his recommendations but he has no right to consider himself the judge of what the conditions of service shall be.

Other changes in the staff during the year were the retirement of Rao Sahib Pinge after 25 years of faithful service in the summer of 1938; the arrival of Miss Barrell and Dr. Razzak in June 1937; of Mr. Pathak, the one and only music-master in my time, in November 1937; and of Mr. Mozumdar in place of Mr. Jaipal Singh in January 1938. Mr. A. B. S. Varma, B.Ag. was lent by the C.P. Agricultural Department to run the farm and teach agricultural science. He was a skilled agricultural expert, but he provides another instance of the truth of a maxim thatt I learnt too slowly in the course of gaining staffing experience. The expert who has not been taught to teach is much less valuable in a school than the trained teacher who is not nearly so expert. The place of the expert is in a University, not a school; and the applicant for a school-post who parades a doctorate in a special subject will hardly ever prove suitable for pre-matriculation teaching. On the departure of Rao Sahib Pinge, still flourishing today in Khairagarh State, I am glad to say Mr. J. B. Kapur became Headmaster. I went on short leave to England from the beginning of March to the end of June 1938 while Mr. Forbes officiated for me.

Numbers rose again from 59 to 66, the highest number reached since 1920. This increase flattered only to deceive. It led me to hope thatt numbers would again rise in the following year to well over 70; but actually they did not do so till 1945. The Council consented to provide more accommodation if required and the Committee got Mr. H. A. N. Medd, F.R.I.B.A. to prepare plans for a new boarding-house on the site of the old morning-parade ground—an unsuitable site I now, but did not then, think. Mr. Medd was then engaged on building the High Court in Nagpur, and gave most generously of his skill and time to the College without remuneration. He it was who designed the raised lawn and lilypond in front of the Main Building, which was the gift of Raja Birendra Bahadur Singh of Khairagarh State in memory of his father. He also gave most valuable



THE COLLEGE GARDENS AND CENTRAL LAWN

advice on the new layout of the College gardens, which between 1935 and 1940 were greatly altered and, I think, improved, thanks mainly to the enthusiastic work of Mr. R. K. D. Kapur. He and Mr. V. S. Forbes were tireless in planting up grounds and gardens with new trees and shrubs, and, in all, must have planted many hundreds. Another proposal from Mr. Medd, which came to nothing because of its great expense but which would have given the College a beautiful room, was to build out a new Hall on the south side of the old one and to convert the latter into a Library or masters' common room.

The first intermediate candidate, Bhopal Singh Deo of Patna, passed in the third division, narrowly missing a second. All five Diploma candidates were successful, one in the first division, one in the second, and three in the third. The first one, Bhupendra Narayan Singh Deo of Korea, eldest son of the first successful Diploma candidate of the College, was 3rd in order of merit and won five distinctions.

It was by now really apparent thatt the ages of the boys were becoming more appropriate to the academical work that they were asked to do. The day of the Diploma candidate in his twenties was over. The average ages of the classes this year were Class I 16, Class II 15·3, Class III 15·5, Class IV 14·9, Class V 12·9, Class VI 11·2, Class VII 11·2, Class VIII 8·4.

This was also the first year in which it was considered safe to start one common mess, which 45 boys joined. Eleven other boys had their meals cooked by seven private cooks and the other ten boys lived outside the boarding-houses. But even these favoured few were threatened by a Committee resolution thatt it was not desirable for any boy to spend all his school-life in a private house. The number of private servants in the College had by now been reduced to 51. The cost of boys' education also showed a decrease. No boy, except those in private houses, spent Rs. 2,000 in the year, even after the annual riding charge of Rs. 240 and cost of clothes had been added, and most spent less than Rs. 1,750.

The inspectors were again Mr. Parkinson and Col. Hinde, and they put forward some important points for consideration. The former was the first seriously to propose the replacement of the Diploma by the Cambridge examinations. In favour of this change he wrote: 'I still feel the school would be well-advised to prepare its pupils for the Cambridge School Certificate Examination instead of for the Diploma. The day of segregated select social classes in educational institutions is disappearing and no longer should a special examination for these young Chiefs be necessary. They can and should compete with other schools on a common ground. This is not the place to argue the desirability

of the change, which in my opinion is inevitable if a Chiefs' College does not wish to conceal its academic standard under an examination that no one outside India has heard of, that no English university or profession recognises, and that is taken by no more than thirty or forty pupils of the princely classes.'

Col. Hinde concentrated his remarks on publicity, command of English, and careers. He still cherished the delusion thatt the States and Estates of north-east India could be got to maintain at least 100 kumars at the College at any one time; and he now also urged thatt, if the College was to expand, it must secure more publicity. I feel thatt I have made a very poor publicity agent, but I now set to work to meet the Press, speak to Rotary Clubs, have an expensive prospectus produced, and visit places where potential applicants for admission might be lurking. I spoke on the College at various times in Ranchi, Cuttack, Calcutta, Tatanagar, Hazaribagh, Nagpur, Jubbulpore, Delhi, Simla and North Madras; and I think I was a bad publicity-agent because, while I was doing all this touring, talking, and printing, I was thinking how very little use, *by itself*, such publicity is to a school. A school whose past and present students do not give it a good advertisement, can never fake a good name for itself by publicity: a school whose Old Boys do well in the world hardly needs any other kind of boost.

Thatt boys must be able to speak English very well by the time they leave the College was not a controversial statement. What is debatable is the best way in which to secure this result. Col. Hinde wanted a rule to be strictly enforced compelling boys to speak only English out of school. Mr. Stow always had such a rule and so did I during most of my principalship, but I eventually came to the conclusion thatt I was wrong. While Mr. Stow and I were making boys speak English out of school, we were encouraging masters of junior classes to use Hindustani as the medium of instruction in school. I now believe thatt a better way in which to secure bilingualism—the real object—is to make English serve as the medium even from Class VIII in spite of the obvious difficulties of doing so, but to let boys speak what language they like out of school. This subject is discussed more fully in Chapter VI pages 242 to 244.

I have undertaken earlier in this chapter not to inflict more of my thoughts on the subject of careers for Old Boys on the reader of it. I do not feel, however, thatt this promise debars me from quoting what Col. Hinde wrote; and I think thatt to quote him has the value of showing thatt the subject was not merely my monomania. In his inspection report he wrote:

'A Careers Department exists at the College and boys are encouraged to consult it for advice: I think, though, with the increase in opportunities consequent on the Indianisation of the Services and the gradual opening of some of the big business houses to Indians, together with the advancement of Civil Aviation, it is incumbent on the College authorities vigorously to impress on boys, whose careers are not already chalked out for them by force of circumstances, the desirability of seeking careers outside their immediate circle. Since, too, the number of Chiefs and Zemindars is limited, suitable numbers can only be attained by offering an education of the maximum utility to those who have to earn their own livelihood.

The process of ensuring that a boy and his parents are aware of the opportunities now offering to youths of gentle birth should begin as early as possible. Educational tours might be arranged so as to include visits by selected boys to the Indian Sandhurst at Dehra Dun, the training ship *Dufferin,* a prominent business house in a Presidency Town, a Forest or Police training establishment or one of the more important commercial aerodromes; addresses to the College by a senior officer from Army Headquarters, a Naval officer, an Aviator, a representative of a Chamber of Commerce, Forest officer, Engineer or senior Police officer and the like describing the advantages of careers in any of these spheres might be filled in as part of the ordinary school curriculum. Every encouragement for the discussion of careers should be given and parents and guardians asked at the end of each term, until a final choice is made, to state what they wished their sons or wards to become. It seems to me that in the past, with certain exceptions, boys have gone through the College aiming only at the diploma with a vague idea that they might read for a degree later but with no clear conception of any specific career to be adopted when their educational tests have been overcome. This is a state of affairs which, if the College is to fulfil its responsibilities towards younger sons and non-Kumars and thereby bring its numbers up to the required level, must be remedied. In recording the above view I would however note that unless parents (particularly those on the distaff side) and guardians co-operate with the College Authorities in encouraging boys to seek careers improvement in this matter will undoubtedly be difficult to achieve.'

A new Committee was elected in December 1937 consisting of the Rulers of Seraikela (Chairman), Patna, Talcher, Khairagarh, the Zemindars of Ramgarh and Komakhan, and three officials. An important piece of work was the revision of the Staff Rules by the Committee. First issued in 1932, they were lightly revised now; the really big revision came in 1943.

A much more difficult question now came for the first time before Committee and Council. It continued to plague me until 1943. I always regarded it as highly objectionable thatt College business should be discussed by members of Council and Committee, before and after meetings, with members of the College staff. There was a rule made by one Committee thatt everything said at a meeting should be treated as confidential. Unless members were discreet and reticent, members of the staff were under considerable temptation to try to influence

the handling of College business to suit themselves. Intrigues, disloyalty, suspicions, jealousies might become rife. Yet there was a point of view of members of the Council that was very reasonable. If they were to be responsible for running the College, they must easily be able to get information. It was often far more convenient to ask a master than the Principal, and sometimes more informative. On several subjects a master might know much more than the Principal. The Council and I tried many times during the next six or seven years to overcome this difficulty by rule; sometimes rules were passed that I sponsored, at others rules that I disliked. The truth is thatt it is a difficulty not susceptible to solution by rules; it is soluble only when every member of a school Governing Body realizes what great harm can be done by giving any sort of encouragement to staff-intrigue, and goes, therefore, out of his way to be very discreet, tactful, and impartial, with all members of the staff. Such a man, though normally hearing well, may during friendly talks with masters suffer from strange temporary attacks of total deafness!

The College in this year, for the first time since I had become Principal, began to feel some financial difficulty. Whereas receipts were Rs. 1,58,442, expenditure rose to Rs. 1,64,742, though that figure included Rs. 3,500 placed in reserve. Many masters who had served some time had been getting annual increments; the Intermediate classes were adding to expenses; the Government grant was being reduced; and it was becoming more risky to lend money to Estates on mortgage with the result thatt repayments of loans that had been earning 5% had to be re-invested at 3½%. The only satisfactory way out of our troubles, everyone agreed, was to recruit many more boys and so increase fee-income. But, though I did try very hard, I failed.

A small loan at 5% was made in this year, but it was the last for a long time. The College Stores finished up the year with a net profit of Rs. 2,906.

A proposal to start a dairy had to be rejected, because the College would have had to buy all its hay, and we calculated thatt, if it had to do that, it must run at a loss. Nevertheless, if it could have been started in this year, it would have become an extremely profitable concern by now. In 1937 good cows and she-buffaloes could have been bought for Rs. 120 each with milk at 6 seers a rupee. In 1944 when the dairy did start, animals cost over Rs. 300 each and milk sold at 2 seers a rupee. I was anxious to have a dairy not only to supply milk but to equip the College to teach dairy-farming as part of its agricultural course. So I started planting the 22 acre plot to the west of my house with 'Sheda' grass. One acre planted in 1937 was so successful thatt larger areas were planted in following years. By 1943 the College could supply

from this area nearly enough first-class hay to feed a dairy herd for a year.

This is not the year in which social-service activities in the College started, but it is the one in which the Seva Samiti with its finance committee and budget took over control of all existing activities of this kind. The Committee promised Rs. 180 a year to start with, and masters and boys subscribed to increase the funds. The first three activities financed were visits to local charitable institutions, tournaments for primary-school boys, and teaching College servants to read and write. The primary-school for servants' children was not opened till the middle of 1938.

One of the houses of the Kerbala Mission was rented in this year for the use of minor chiefs of Chhattisgarh States, who lived with guardians. During the next four years the Kanker, Udaipur, Jashpur and Bastar wards lived there in turn; but it was not a profitable venture from a financial point of view, as money was lost over the electrical fittings when the house was given up in 1941.

I continued my efforts to publicize the College in various ways. Seven visitors were induced to come to talk to the boys on their own subjects, and boys were sent away on four occasions to play matches, one football match taking place in Calcutta in front of a fair-sized crowd. The educational tour was made to Ramtek, Nagpur, Ajanta and Ellora; the forestry tour to Dhenkanal State.

The new Resident, Col. H. W. C. Robson, visited the College three times and presided at the Prize-giving.

The year closed with a very sad event, the death of Birmitra Shekhar Singh Deo, Minor Ruler of Gangpur State, a boy whom one had only to know in order to like. After winning his Diploma in April 1938, he went with his mother and brother to England and died very suddenly in London at the end of June.

1938–39.

The Council in December 1938 made decisions of the greatest importance. The rule restricting admissions of non-kumars to ten at any one time was abolished, and from then on the College has been open to any boy able to pay the fees. Though a few of these boys had come before 1938, the restrictive rule had been one obstacle discouraging many parents from risking a rebuff. The voting in the Council on this fundamental question of policy was 12 in favour and 2 against. This decision made another urgent, namely to fix a fee not beyond the means of a well-to-do middle-class parent and yet high enough to maintain fee-income. It was decided thatt, on the whole, a parent is better

pleased by being asked to pay a higher inclusive fee which reduces to a minimum the 'extras' in his bill rather than a lower fee to which is added every term a large number of extra charges. The fee fixed was Rs. 1,500 to include all hobbies, pocket money, school clothing, books, games, stationery, routine medical attention, and so on: the only recurring extras were riding, which was made voluntary, and travelling.

A second important decision was to change over from the Diploma to the Cambridge examinations in 1941, the last year in which the College would present Diploma candidates. This change had had the backing of Mr. Parkinson and was also backed by Dr. Sargent, the 1939 inspector and the new Educational Commissioner, who was the first holder of that office to attend a Council meeting. The University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate had recognized the College as 'an approved school', made it into an examination centre, and—a great favour—appointed me to be Presiding Examiner. No change-over, therefore, could have been made easier. It was at the same time decided thatt the main subjects to be offered should be: English language, a modern Indian language, Sanskrit, Art, History of the British Empire, Geography, Elementary Mathematics, and General Science. As soon as the Syndicate accepted our syllabus of Agricultural Science, that subject would be added as a second science subject normally taken by all. In order to avoid a long vacation shortly before the Cambridge examinations began in December, the College vacations were altered. The Dasehra vacation was cut from 30 to 14 days, though later extended to 21. The Christmas vacation was extended from 10 days to 28, and the summer vacation shortened by 3 days.

Two other decisions of this important Council meeting have not been carried out, to build a junior school for 40 or 50 boys near the West gate and to build out a new Hall from the south end of the existing one. The boarding-house was not needed, because numbers, contrary to expectation, dropped from 66 to 62. Then came the war which made all such civilian building impossible. This delay has given time for second thoughts; ways of accommodating 100 boys at a time in the College without building a new boarding-house, and of separating the young from the less young by means of feeder-schools, are discussed in Chapter VI, where I also explain why the College still needs a larger Hall very badly but ought to be content with a cheaper one than the very attractive but expensive one designed by Mr. Medd.

This Council meeting did not stop there; I doubt if anything could have stopped it; by meeting for three days running, it broke all sitting records! It was presided over by the Raja Bahadur of Sarangarh who

had by now served on the Governing Body for over 25 years; and was very fittingly the first Ruler-President of the Council. It said thatt, as the doors of admission were now open, a spring-cleaning of the interior should be made. No future entrant was to bring a private cook; parents ought not to keep their sons in a private bungalow during the whole of their school-lives; simple uniforms of open-necked shirts and shorts were to be worn on all but the most ceremonious occasions; the College must be well advertized by prospectuses, advertisements, and tours by the Principal; Rs. 800 were to be spent at once on publicity; the Old Boys must have three seats on the Council; and two gentlemen of importance must be invited to represent the new class of boy about to come, it was hoped, from Orissa and the Central Provinces. The bit, I think it may be said, had been taken firmly between the teeth, so firmly indeed thatt the Council, in the heat of its exuberance, could not be prevented from also passing a prohibition on masters' drinking alcohol and from trying to decide what privileges a senior boy should and should not enjoy—an impossible task for a big body like the Council full of members imperfectly acquainted with such administrative details! The last shot in its locker, however, scored a very good bull's-eye, as it stated in the clearest terms thatt the Principal, and no one else, had the responsibility of choosing the College staff. It was a great meeting, taken all in all, and I remember Dr. Sargent telling me afterwards thatt he had never known anything like it in all his experience.

Major Webb was Dr. Sargent's co-inspector and he added the following to the remarks of Col. Hinde in 1938 on the subject of careers:

> 'In regard to education, I feel that I am not competent to judge, but I would emphasise that any encouragement to make boys seek a career as against the mere passing of examinations is of vital importance. The Careers Department does, I know, do all that is in its power, but unless the parents and guardians themselves co-operate with the College, as Colonel Hinde said in his last year's report, improvement in this matter will be difficult to achieve.'

The efforts to interest people prominent in public life in the College continued. Sir Francis Wylie, the new Governor of the Central Provinces, paid a visit, and as in previous years a large number of gentlemen were invited to talk to the boys, one of them Pandit R. S. Shukla, the first Congress Premier of the C.P. Eight of these visitors spoke in this year. There were several ideas behind this programme of lectures. It was thought wise to show the College to as many people as would take the trouble to come and see it. It was hoped thatt the

boys would not only increase their general knowledge of the world by hearing what the visitors had to say but might be stimulated to think about careers for themselves by hearing what some of the speakers had to say about their own.

Some of these ideas were also behind the tours that the boys were now making annually in term-time, usually at the end of February in order to provide a break in the long spring term. One tour this year was made to Dehra Dun, where the Indian Military Academy, the Doon School, the Forest Research Institute, and the Survey Department's offices, were visited. Another for younger boys was made to the Iron and Steel Works at Tatanagar.

Mrs. Gadre, a trained graduate, was the first lady to teach in the College. It had been felt thatt a matron in charge of the junior boarding-house would give parents more confidence to send young boys to the College; it was now felt thatt the appointment of a lady to teach the junior classes would do the same.

Two other newcomers to the staff were Mr. B. S. Pancholey as Art master in place of Mr. U. S. Tomar who reverted to Government service, and Mr. K. C. Joshi in place of Mr. N. K. Bhargava who, after his engagement as guardian to the Ramgarh boys ended, had joined the staff for a short time. Mr. Pancholey was very successful while he was in charge of the Art School in arousing interest and putting life into the Art society. Mr. Joshi had many qualities of a good schoolmaster, but as the decision to make Sanskrit a regular school subject necessitated the engagement of a second teacher of Sanskrit and Hindi, he had, I am sorry to say, to make way for Mr. B. N. Shukla at the end of the year.

Messrs. Raghoraj Singh and Sovani both showed ambition and enterprise by sitting for M.A. degrees in second subjects, the former in History, the latter in Hindi. They both succeeded in getting second classes without taking study-leave or suffering from nervous breakdown. But it ought not to be possible for anyone to win a M.A. in this casual fashion, and I ought to have insisted on study-leave.

A decision of the Committee helpful to the staff confirmed thatt their sons might be educated in the College at a concessional rate. Two masters at once took advantage of this permission.

This is the year when I made my first attempts to devolve more responsibility on to the senior members of the staff.

The well near the orange garden was dug this year after the site had been chosen by Col. Robson, the Resident, an enthusiastic water-diviner. On this occasion he was certainly very successful. The well was intended not only to supply the Principal's and Vice-Principal's

houses and the orchard, but also the junior boarding-house, if it was ever built on the site near the west gate.

Two old masters' houses which stood where the swimming-bath now stands were demolished and two new ones built to the south of the hospital. Untidy ground to the west of the senior boarding-house was terraced and supplied with an approach-road; and brickedging and tidying-up of the more formal parts of the gardens were carried out.

At the end of the year Raja Bahadur Birendra Bahadur Singh of Khairagarh announced his very generous intention to give Rs. 20,000 for the construction of a swimming bath.

The Raja Bahadur was the first President of the Old Boys' Association, which was formed in this year almost entirely by the efforts of Purnendu Narayan Singh Deo, Jubraj of Kharsawan State. Other references to this Association have been made in Chapters IV and VI.

Another innovation of this year was the opening of the College Bank which made it possible and obligatory for all boys to make all payments only by cheque. Some boys were found to be bringing too large sums back with them at the beginning of term and to be getting more money during it. The Bank was started to prevent the circulation of money, to control boys' expenditure better, to lessen the risk of loss or theft, and to teach boys the many conveniences of payment by cheque. At the same time the amount of money that a boy was allowed to be sent from his home to supplement his pocket money was fixed. The Bank has operated smoothly ever since this year and may, I think, be said to have proved itself to have been a sound reform.

Four boys sat for and passed the Diploma examination, three in the second and one in the third divisions. The privileged boys were beginning to show a very welcome improvement in their capacity to take responsibility. Private cooks had now dwindled to six in number. Forty-five boys fed in the mess but there were still 49 private servants, a number greatly swelled by the fact thatt eleven boys were living in three private houses.

The tennis players were lucky to receive two longish visits from Mr. Ranbir Singh, the A.I.L.T.A. coach, who was a most popular visitor. Two of the Intermediate students took part in the Nagpur University sports and acquitted themselves respectably by securing one second and two third places. Once again an increased number of boys winning 'ribbons' showed thatt Mr. Mathew's physical efficiency tests were doing good. Forty-four won ribbons and 13 failed, whereas in 1935–36 only 32 had won them and 18 had failed.

Finance continued to cause anxiety for the same reasons as in the previous year. Only two boys were taking the intermediate course,

both of them under the control of official guardians. Parents of boys who passed their Diploma examination were not supporting the intermediate classes, which were running, therefore, at a loss. Receipts were only Rs. 1,31,931 against an expenditure of Rs. 1,34,059.

**1939–40.**

The Committee now had to face considerable financial stringency, and the accounts of the year showed an income of Rs. 1,30,489 only against an expenditure of Rs. 1,38,613. Staff salaries were increasing annually, large sums of money that had been lent on mortgage at 5% were being repaid annually and had to be reinvested at 3½%, and fee income was disappointingly stationary. These main reasons for lack of money were reinforced by two other unexpected ones. An estate failed at the end of the year to pay any interest on a large loan. Fortunately, this failure was only temporary and in the end improved, rather than weakened, the College investments; but as that result could not be foreseen at the time, it was necessary to budget on the assumption of a serious loss. Secondly, a Jute company whose shares the College had bought in 1927 and on which it had since then received very good dividends, ceased to pay any more. Moreover, the shares which had been bought at about par, stood in 1939 at only 46! The College never again received interest on these shares, but, thanks to the war, their market price rose rapidly and the College was able to sell its holding in 1940 with only a small loss of capital. In this way, the College was reminded for the second time in its history how undesirable it is for a school to invest money in non-trustee securities. Probably, because of this warning, it now sold the remainder of its C.P. Railway shares at par and since then has confined its investments strictly to gilt-edged stock.

These losses made an immediate programme of retrenchment necessary, which was the chief feature of the year's work.

The College Stores' shareholders were bought out for a generous sum of Rs. 15–13–6 for each Rs. 10 share. This move enabled the College to benefit in full from the prosperity of the Stores. Members of the staff were required to pay a monthly water and conservancy cess, which was excessively high at first but has now been reduced to a reasonable figure. It was also decided thatt half of what a master earned by coaching or vacation work should be paid to the College. This rule, so far as termtime coaching is concerned, is still in force, but of a master's vacation earnings the College today takes only a third.

Both to save money on staff and because the inspectors thought it good thatt they should, the housemasters now began to teach, and this change made it possible to manage with one fewer teacher. Mrs.

Gadre was the one dispensed with, to my regret and for no fault of hers, because it caused her less hardship to lose her post than it would have caused any other teacher. Pandit Medhakar Shastri retired of his own accord at the same time and money was also saved by not filling his place. Since his departure religious instruction has been in the hands of Messrs. Sovani and Shukla, who besides being full-time teachers, have acted, to use the Christian phrase, as the chaplains of the College.

Other economies were effected over subordinate staff and several other heads of expenditure. Steps were also taken to increase receipts from the farm. Boys' expenditure was very closely examined and a good deal of money was saved by this scrutiny, as it led to a large number of small economies. I calculated at the time thatt this campaign of taxation and retrenchment added Rs. 5,000 p.a. to income and cut expenditure by Rs. 8,500 p.a.

It also helped my plans for cheapening and levelling up the cost of education. In this year, 49 boys spent under Rs. 2,000, ten under Rs. 2,500, and only one over that figure.

A new type of inspection was introduced this year. Two inspectors selected by the Educational Adviser, Dr. Jenkins and Mr. Chanda from Bengal, concentrated mainly on assessing the teaching ability of the staff and gave me a confidential report on each. It is extremely hard for an inspector, even if he listens to a teacher for several periods, to make an accurate estimate of his work. The teacher and class are on their best behaviour, and the lessons have certainly been carefully prepared. Where an inspector's estimate of a master's teaching ability differs from my own, I confidently back my own, not out of conceit but because a Principal is so much better placed to form an accurate estimate. Yet these periodical inspections of teaching every three or four years are valuable: especially when a Principal is dissatisfied with a master's work and is thinking of replacing him. If the inspectors also form a poor opinion, he can feel sure thatt he will not be acting unjustly. In short, whenever inspectors in their reports criticize any detail of the administration of a school, people are as foolish to take for granted thatt they are right as the Principal would be to take for granted thatt they are wrong; but when they and he agree, it is likely that the criticism is well founded.

The gist of the inspectors' recommendations was thatt there must be no differential treatment of boys; thatt housemasters ought to take classes; thatt a post-matriculation course of administrative training was very badly needed; thatt boys must leave at the age of 18 and not

on passing some examination, and, therefore, that the College must have courses up to that age which would usefully occupy boys of all degrees of ability; that the special time-tables that had been given to backward boys were educationally sound; and, of course, that numbers must be raised at least to 120, before the school could call itself really first class. Nevertheless, the inspectors gave the College a very good report, and, when it was read by the Educational Adviser, he took the unprecedented step of sending his congratulations to the staff. Because the inspectors emphasized the point and because parents even now have failed to appreciate its great importance, I quote a passage from the report on the need for a boy to stay at the College till he is 17 or 18, however great his intellectual ability.

> 'Every possible pressure should be brought to bear therefore to ensure that this further period of residence in the College is a normal completion of the College life.
>
> As it is, for those boys who leave, having reached merely that academic level which a normal boy should attain when between 15 and 16 the training has been far from complete. For such, when leaving school means entrance into an environment reminiscent of times that elsewhere are long past, it is not likely that a realization of the responsibilities accompanying their privileges will be a marked feature of their future life. Ultimately they are more likely to meet tragedy than to find happiness.'

Numbers remained steady throughout 1939 and 1940 at 61 boys. Two boys passed their Intermediate Arts examination in 1940, one with a good second class, the other with a rather disappointing third. All Diploma candidates passed, two in the second and two in the third class. Two teaching innovations were the introduction of hygiene and physiology as a Cambridge subject and a more practical way of teaching Intermediate Civics. Boys visited places like the local water-works and hospital, collected their facts, and wrote reports which were intended to be constructively critical as well as factual. This was a very educative exercise, and I hope that it will be made much use of in the future educational programme of the College. Hygiene and Physiology, on the other hand, is at the time of writing being abandoned as a Cambridge subject, though I think that it is a very important one to teach in an elementary way to junior classes. It is relatively a 'soft' Cambridge subject, and a good school should avoid soft subjects.

Educational tours, for the last time owing to the war of 1939–45, were still possible in this year. One party visited Calcutta, Kharagpur, Bhubaneshwar, and Vizagapatam, while I took another party on a most enjoyable and instructive tour in the forests of Patna State. Short visits were also paid to the Lac factory at Dhamtari and the demonstration-

farms at Labhandi and Chandkuri. Mr. V. S. Forbes, on his own, educated himself by staying fourteen days at the Doon School.

Lecturers from outside continued to come and speak to the boys, many of them on the subject of their own careers. This also was a valuable part of the educational programme, which had to be suspended when war-time travel became more difficult and suitable speakers more and more busy.

About this time staff and boys began to make a collection of exhibits mainly connected with agriculture and forestry; Mr. Mooney gave a number of exhibits of grains from his herbarium; and in the last two or three years a collection of local minerals has been added. All these and many more will, I greatly hope, one day find a permanent home in a museum. The Library was enriched by a very welcome gift of Oriya books from the Ruler of Baramba State in memory of Major Bazalgette, Political Agent, Orissa States, who had been murdered in Ranpur State a year previously, and by a donation of Rs. 500 from the Maharaja of Kanker State on his leaving the College.

Mention was made in Chapter III of the College Prizegivings as functions which everyone enjoyed because everyone got a prize! I now played the spoilsport and robbed many of their enjoyment, I hope for their good. Challenge cups open to sets and classes were increased; but individual prizes were reduced to the following: the Nandgaon shield and Principal's cup for the boy scoring most set-marks; the Resident's Prize for the boy doing best in a public examination; the Womack Medal for the boy scoring most set-marks for conduct; the Sarangarh Cup for the boy scoring most set-marks for games; and an unlimited number of '15 Star' prizes, given by the Maharaja of Surguja State, for any boy who won a clear credit of fifteen 'stars', a difficult feat. There were also Mr. Mathew's 'ribbons' for physical efficiency. It has always seemed to me thatt individual prizes, though a respectable kind of bribe, are open to some of the objections to all bribes; and thatt two lessons worth learning at school are thatt a prize worth having is hardly earned in this world, and thatt a man must be ready to make great efforts without hope of any prize at all.

Mention of 'ribbons' leads me on to note thatt in 1939 fifty boys won them and ten failed, while in 1940 sixty won them and only three failed. After this year the standard required to win a ribbon had to be raised, which fact indicates how greatly regular practice and tests can in five years improve the physical efficiency of the average boy.

Some changes in the staff took place. It proved most difficult to find a master who was both an agricultural expert and successful in teaching elementary agriculture. A man was wanted who could not

only run the farm and orchard (and, later on, the dairy) but also understood the technique of teaching boys, maintaining discipline, and arousing interest. It was the same problem as the one of finding the right person to give religious instruction. Mr. Verma reverted to Government service and was succeeded after a short interval by Mr. K. K. Misra, another agricultural graduate. Eventually, the problem was solved in the same way as it had been over religious instruction. Mr. R. K. D. Kapur, a trained teacher but only a self-made agriculturist, gave up some of his mathematical teaching in order to take charge of the agricultural department. He has made a great success of it in the last four years.

Late in 1940 Mr. Raghoraj Singh resigned to enter state service as a Diwan, thus following in the footsteps of Rai Sahib Shrivastava and Mr. Mahapatro. Whenever the College has lost a good master in this way, it has suffered from the short-term point of view, but I think thatt it has gained from the long-term one. Moreover, by allowing its best masters to go to serve in the states, it may be said to be repaying some of the many services that the states have rendered to the College; in modern language, in short, to be working 'reverse lease-lend'! Miss Melville, a lady who had taught for some years in Scotland, took his place and became responsible for the English of the four junior classes.

By far the most interesting change in the staff was that of Medical Adviser. The College terminated its agreement with the Civil Surgeon and entered into a new (and cheaper) one with Dr. H. G. Freund, an American missionary doctor, at first in charge of a hospital at Tilda some forty miles away, later in charge of one at Khariar over 100 miles off. He undertook to visit the College at least for 24 hours, usually for 36, once a fortnight; and to come in specially at other times when called. It was possible to get a message delivered to him within 2 or 3 hours both at Tilda and Khariar.

This arrangement will seem to anyone who reads of it to have been illogical and inefficient, considering thatt there was a Civil Surgeon living all the week in Raipur; yet actually it was the best medical arrangement I have known, the health of the College prospered during it as never before or since, and it is my strong recommendation to the Committee to resume this arrangement as soon as it can. It ceased in 1942 when Dr. Freund went on furlough to the U.S.A., leaving his Mission too short of doctors to provide a substitute. Because of this recommendation it may be of future value to explain why the arrangement proved successful.

A Civil Surgeon is a very busy man. If he can find time to visit the College for three hours in a fortnight, that is all that can be expected

of him now-a-days. Dr. Freund had a whole day to spend in the College every fortnight with nothing to distract him. He attended not only to the boys but also to the whole staff, superior and subordinate, *without cost to them*; he also had time to give the senior boys a most instructive lecture on physiology and hygiene and to supervise the sanitation department. If any patient needed treatment that the College hospital was not equipped to give, he could visit the Tilda hospital and return the same day. Finally, a mission doctor usually serves in one 'field' for seven years whereas Civil Surgeons constantly come and go. Therefore, in peacetime, the College may reasonably hope to retain the services of a man like Dr. Freund for a long enough time to enable him to become thoroughly familiar with all its medical problems. It is very rare for an illness or accident to occur which demands a doctor's immediate presence, especially when there is a trained nurse on the staff. If such a case occurs, there is no reason to suppose thatt the Civil Surgeon will refuse to attend if offered his usual fee.

The third Viceregal visit was made in January 1940 when Lord Linlithgow laid the foundation stone of a new Hall and Lady Linlithgow that of the swimming bath which was named after her. A very large number of guests met them, amongst whom Mr. and Mrs. Stow, on a visit from Ajmer, were specially welcome. Owing to the impossibility of obtaining materials for a large building during the war-years, the Hall has not yet been built; but the swimming bath, designed by Messrs. Blomfield & Co. of New Delhi, was started in 1940 and was opened for use by its donor in October 1941. The covered entrance hall and the changing rooms had to be left unfinished owing to the impossibility of buying steel girders in time of war.

The Council has continued, throughout the last decade, to collect money for the Golden Jubilee Fund. Up to now it has been the declared intention of the Council to spend this money on a new Hall to be named after Mr. Stow. Forty-five individuals have subscribed to this Fund, which is still open. The only expenditure debited to it so far has been the purchase of portraits in oils of the seven great benefactors of the College, photographs of whom appear as illustrations in this book. Six were painted by Mr. Pancholey, art master until 1942; that of Mr. Stow by Mr. P. P. Bose, the present art master. He is at present working on a portrait of Maharaja Ramanuj Saran Singh Deo of Surguja State who has equal right to an eighth place in our gallery of benefactors. All these portraits are to be hung in the new Hall when it is built.

More rapid progress was now possible towards the goal of 'equal treatment for all' in the College. Boys of other classes were entering

more freely; owing to the difficulty of their getting to England, English boys were also allowed admission. In all, during the next five years, ten of them came. None of these boys, of course, brought servants and parents of kumars may have been influenced by their example. There were only eight private servants left in the boarding-houses in 1940, and six more employed by boys living in private houses. It was on the latter thatt the weight of attack was now directed. The inspectors of 1940 criticized the educational value of such special treatment, I wrote a note for the Council on the subject, and even that body was induced to recommend parents to transfer their sons to the boarding-houses; but it was four years more before they had all done so.

The English boys were a necessary, but temporary, exception. Neither the boarding-houses nor the mess had been designed to meet their needs. The mess, however, was flourishing without them, as in 1940 five masters and 51 boys were eating in it.

At this time, more responsibility began to be placed on both senior masters and privileged boys. The latter were given much more responsibility for the discipline of the boarding-houses, organization of games and other daily duties. They, the headmaster, housemasters, and I came to hold weekly conferences at which not only did I give instruction and advice but the boys made proposals and aired grievances.

Certain masters were put in charge of all teaching of certain subjects with the right to inspect the teaching of their special subjects by other members of the staff. Some of them also were given a free hand to spend the money budgeted under certain heads of contingencies. Mr. V. S. Forbes increased the number of his teaching periods and handed over much of his office work and the kumars' accounts to Mr. Kunzru. These were my first, noticeably positive, steps towards the 1943 plan of decentralization.

Mr. Barry of Lahore and I formed the Indian Public Schools Conference in 1939. An informal meeting at Simla in June was followed by the inaugural one at Gwalior in October. The second meeting was held at the College in October 1940. I was elected Chairman of the Conference from 1939 to 1941. Some details of its activities are given in Chapter IV. There is therefore, no need to refer to them all here; but there is one direct and important service that the Conference has rendered which deserves further recognition. Without its labours (mainly those of Mr. Barry on its behalf) the great improvement in the Cambridge syllabuses of Indian classical and modern languages that has been made in the last four years would never have been. The importance of these languages to Indian schools is obvious, but it was the Conference alone that secured recognition of the fact.

The College Seva Samiti put in its first year of work as a recognized, aided department. Its income was Rs. 621 and its expenditure Rs. 585. The school for servants' children had only two classes and two teachers. Other activities were the publication of 'Mithai', the running of football and sports tournaments, the granting of loans at low interest for approved purposes, the holding of debates at which book prizes were given, the teaching of convicts to read and write, and the opening of a fortnightly hospital clinic. All these activities have continued ever since with the exception of the making of convicts literate. It proved difficult to find a time convenient both to the jail authorities and the boys in which to visit the jail three miles away. This project, therefore, became unpopular and stopped for want of volunteers. The fortnightly clinic was started entirely through the enthusiasm of Dr. Freund. It has attracted a very large number of patients during the last five years owing to its policy of giving the best available treatment of certain serious diseases at half the price charged by local doctors. Another activity, which started at this time, and has continued ever since, was that of masters' and boys' giving one hour of manual labour a week for the good of the College estate. Though this is not a charge on the funds of the Seva Samiti, it, like the Samiti, aims at developing a spirit of social service in the community.

The building department did not have a very busy year. A water reservoir was constructed in the orange orchard and a linked system of water supply to the western half of the grounds was devised. A new well was dug between the lake and the Drug road to supply the swimming bath and work on the latter started. This well was not dug in a good position and has proved to be the least successful of the four dug in my time. The only other construction of note in this year was the conversion of several of the quarters, that used to be used by private servants and were no longer required for them, into family-quarters for members of the subordinate staff.

The Scindia School, Gwalior, sent a team to play the College at football, hockey, and athletic sports. This is noteworthy as the beginning of efforts, stimulated by the Indian Public Schools Conference, to arrange annual inter-school matches between Conference schools, events in the school-year that it is of great importance to include. The College followed up this visit of the Scindia School by sending its team to the Daly College in 1941. After that year, it became impossible for teams to travel owing to the war; but, when transport facilities become normal again, I hope thatt these inter-school matches will be resumed.

A paragraph on boxing as a school exercise may find room here. I have always been convinced of its value especially in a school like the

College to which come many boys from very sheltered homes. It is an exercise that develops control of temper, pluck, endurance, agility, and a democratic spirit. During my principalship, I relied almost entirely on members of the staff and temporary residents of Raipur to give instruction. Messrs. Perkins, Kefford, Gadre, Ratnam, and Clements were all good instructors, but none of them stayed long enough to see their pupils through more than the preliminary stages of training. So long as no competent instructor is available locally, I think thatt the College would do well to recruit one from outside and to make such use as it can of his services when he is not required to give boxing lessons. During my principalship, the College boxed in three inter-school tournaments, one in Raipur, the others in Nagpur and Dehra Dun. Our team lost on all three occasions, but did not disgrace itself. This feeling thatt pluck, endurance, and a desire to do difficult things because they are difficult, were qualities that the College education ought to go out of its way to develop, led me to introduce the long-distance cycle ride in 1940. Instead of boys' travelling home by train for the Christmas holidays, volunteers would ride a good part of the way on cycles, followed by the College bus carrying bedding, food, and water. My wife and I and about a dozen boys rode to Sambalpur in 1940, doing some 120 miles on our cycles; and in 1941, to Raigarh covering a little over 100 miles. Owing to the very kind hospitality of Lal Bahadur Singh of Phuljhar, we had a delightful place at which to stop for the first night on each occasion. Alas! the war after 1941 put a stop to these rides, as it did to nearly all other forms of outing. The bus was a necessity in the rear of the cycling party, and after 1941 there was no petrol for it.

As it had been decided to make school year and financial year coincide with the calendar year from January 1st 1941, a nine month's budget had to be prepared for the period April to December 1940. Income during it totalled Rs. 87,343 and expenditure Rs. 94,503.

A very sad event occurred in September when Mahant Sarveshwar Das of Nandgaon State, the greatest of our financial benefactors, died very suddenly and unexpectedly.

The new Governor of the Central Provinces, Sir Henry Twynam, paid his first visit in August. In October, Robin Solomon, one of the Intermediate students and the first non-kumar to enter the College, secured admission to the Indian Military Academy in the face of strong competition. He has since had a good career in the Indian Army, during the 1939–45 war saw active service both in the Middle East and Burma, was wounded happily not seriously, and was promoted to the rank of captain. Would thatt he had been only one among many Old Boys thus to distinguish themselves and their school!

The second edition of the Old Boys' Register was published at the end of 1940.

1941.

The war of 1939–45 now began to affect the College, and this place seems to be as good as any other at which to attempt a summary of its influence.

Compared with schools in England, the College, like other Indian residential schools, was hardly affected at all. It did not have to face even a tenth of the problems created by the war to perplex comparable English schools. Nevertheless, the influence was appreciable, and most of it was handicapping.

The period from March to June 1942 was the only one during which it seemed likely thatt Raipur might be attacked, though actually the bombing of Vizagapatam was the nearest approach of the Japanese. No plan was made to evacuate the College, though there was a proposal at one time to requisition it for use as a military hospital. Air raid shelters and trenches were prepared, baffle-walls built, masters and senior boys took a course of first aid, and six members of the staff joined the Civic Guards. Instead of planning to evacuate, the Council accepted the much more creditable proposal to offer asylum, on very reduced terms, to boys who might be forced to leave their schools in Bengal and on the east coast. Only one boy came under this scheme, because the expected Japanese invasion of N.E. India came to nothing; but, had it been made, no doubt many refugees would have made use of it.

In all, four members of the staff were accepted for service in the armed forces. Miss Barrell nursed in several army hospitals in the north of India, Mr. Gadre joined the R.I.A.F., Mr. Mozumdar the R.I.A.S.C., and Mr. Banwar the I.A.O.C. It was profoundly disappointing to me thatt very few Old Boys joined the Forces. The war came too soon for the new type of boy that the College had been recruiting only since 1938. Very few of them had finished their course at the College before the war was over. The Old Boys, of an age to volunteer, were almost all of the old kumar-class; and the same influences that have, throughout my connection with the College, operated strongly to prevent kumars' going out into the world and adopting independent careers operated equally strongly to prevent their volunteering either for commissions or for service in the ranks. A few received commissions to do such 'behind-the-line' work as recruiting; four or five volunteered but were rejected by selection boards on medical or academical grounds; one or two young Rulers were very anxious to set a good example but were not accepted, because they were Rulers. After making every conceivable

allowance for their difficulties, I am left with the unhappy feeling that our Old Boys missed a unique opportunity of demonstrating the value of their class to their country, and failed to remember that the greater the educational advantages that a man has enjoyed the greater is his duty to render public service to his country. Much of the blame must be mine. If any passages in this book give an impression of self-satisfaction, let me here confess that everything good that I may claim to have done has been neutralized by this conspicuous failure to develop a more vigorous spirit of public-service and self-sacrifice.

The College, however, played a creditable part in the local war effort. Both staff and boys subscribed steadily and generously to local war funds, and for the last couple of years of the war the boys voluntarily gave up a large fraction of their monthly pocket money. The acting of a burlesque entitled 'Inside Europe' collected over Rs. 500 for war funds early in 1942. The Chhattisgarh States canteen, started by my wife at the instigation of the Dowager Rani Sahiba of Gangpur State and most generously financed by the Chhattisgarh Rulers, rendered very widely praised service to the hundreds of thousands of troops passing through Raipur; many members of the College staff, especially Mr. R. K. D. Kapur, worked long and hard in it and several boys helped as much as they could. Some bungalows were occupied by officers, a good many soldiers spent their leaves in the College, and many hundreds used the swimming bath.

The ordinary academical routine was very little disturbed though it became harder year by year to get books and paper. The Cambridge scripts had to be written in duplicate in case one set was sunk on its way to the examiners. But many extracurricular activities had to be curtailed and school-life became much duller. Educational tours, 'away' matches, visiting lecturers, cycle-tours, smallgame shooting, photography, and, indeed, almost all activities requiring freedom to go outside the limits of Raipur city gradually came to a stop; and by the end of the war the loss of these activities was noticeably depressing the quality of the education.

Rationing came so slowly to Raipur that we felt its effect most in 1945 when the war was actually over! During most of the war, the cost of living in Raipur was comparatively low; at the end, food in the Mess was costing about 75% more than it had in 1939. But many articles like potatoes, milk, sugar, and eggs had become very hard to obtain. The acute shortage and high price of milk in 1943–44 was one reason that induced the Committee to start a dairy. It soon became impossible to clothe the boys in a uniform and they were allowed to wear whatever was obtainable. It was fortunate that, even before cloth

became scarce, the clothing of the boys had been greatly simplified. Building costs rose little during the first 2½ years, but from the middle of 1942 they rose steeply to about three times those of 1939. Little new construction could be afforded, many essential materials became very hard to get, and repairs fell into arrears. Medicines too became scarce, especially quinine during a serious malarial epidemic in the autumn of 1942, when it was on sale in Raipur at Rs. 350 a lb.!! During 1943–45, it was often impossible to get many articles that we had previously considered to be necessities.

It became difficult to retain the lowest paid servants and to recruit temporary labour. Neighbouring Army and Air Force camps and Army contractors offered them wages which the College could not afford to pay. Dearness allowances were granted to all employees drawing under Rs. 125 p.m. and those drawing under Rs. 30 received some free rice in addition to cash. During the last two years of the war the College bought large quantities of rice which it sold below the local market rate. These measures did something to retain the menials, but they were insufficient to remove constant anxiety and to avert increased expenditure on subordinate staff. In 1945, the daily wages of a coolie were three times greater than those of 1939.

Finance, therefore, was as important a subject in 1941 as it had been in 1940. In spite of all the economies effected in the latter year the Council ordered a further scrutiny of ways and means. There were only two measures left to take which would appreciably reduce expenditure. One was the abolition of the Intermediate classes, the other my replacement by a cheaper Principal. It was decided to close the Intermediate classes and to disaffiliate from Nagpur University in the spring of 1942. A good many members of the Council favoured dispensing with my services, but in the end this plan was dropped. I do not know all the reasons for the decision, but some were obvious. As I was a Government servant, Government would have had to find me other employment which, if of an educational nature, it would have been hard put to find. By 1941, it had become difficult to recruit a man qualified and free to take my place. The strongest reason for my retention was, however, the fact thatt in the middle of the year Mr. V. S. Forbes resigned and left in December. After a long discussion it was decided to ask all supporters of the College to subscribe Rs. 50 for every lakh of their income as a single non-recurring donation to wipe out the debit opening balance on January 1st 1942 of Rs. 11,765. Rs. 10,365 were in the end received in response to this appeal. To summarize these years of financial difficulty, the actual income and expenditure were as follows: 1938–39 deficit of Rs. 2,218–13–5; 1939–

40 deficit of Rs. 3,197–3–3; 1940 (last nine months) deficit of Rs. 8,975–13–6. In 1941, there was a small surplus of Rs. 883–2–3 and Rs. 1,905 was placed in reserve; in 1942, thanks to the Rs. 10,365 mentioned above, there was a surplus of Rs. 9,336 and Rs. 4,736 were placed in reserve; in 1943 the surplus was only Rs. 47 but Rs. 7,900 went to reserve. The Committee of 1938–40 can claim, therefore, thatt by its vigorous and timely action a nasty financial storm was weathered. A new Committee was elected at the beginning of 1941 with the Ruler of Kawardha State as Chairman; and the Rulers of Khairagarh, Daspalla and Khandpara States and the Zemindars of Ramgarh and Komakhan Estates as elected members. Twenty-four members—a record up till then—attended the Council meeting at which Raja Ramanuj Pratap Singh Deo of Korea State was elected President. Dr. V. S. Jha, Central Provinces, and Rai Bahadur M. G. Patnaik, Orissa, were elected to the Council as the first representatives of the 'non-kumar'.

On the two days prior to this Council meeting H. E. Sir John Hubback and Lady Hubback stayed in the College, and Sir John presided at the Prizegiving. Up to date this is the only visit that has been paid to the College by a Governor of Orissa. Dr. Sargent, Educational Adviser, was present at the same time both to attend the Council meeting and to conduct the annual inspection, which, however, was concerned only with policy and administration on account of the thorough inspection of the teaching that had been made in the previous year. He could not say more than had been said many times before: thatt numbers must be increased, thatt the educational and financial stability both depended on an increase, thatt Old Boys must enter the professions, thatt so far from closing the Intermediate classes they ought to be extended to teach science and administration, and thatt clever boys ought to stay till they were 18 to take advantage of these classes.

The Maharaja of Patna State, Dr. Sargent, Dr. Jha and I formed a sub-committee charged with finding a suitable man to come as Vice-Principal and to succeed me later, and with fixing his conditions of service. I had already announced my desire to retire as soon as the College had found a suitable successor, and the then plan was to recruit someone to serve for a year or two before I left. But the demands of the Defence Services made it almost impossible to find the right type of man and the work of the sub-committee came to nothing.

All members of the Governing Body were given copies of a confidential note that I wrote on the subject of careers for Old Boys.

The Committee considered what more could be done to raise numbers, which remained stationary round about 60 up to the end of 1944 in spite of these and many other efforts. One decision of the

Committee that was very welcome to me was the offer of two scholarships each of Rs. 700, tenable for four years and to be awarded annually. One was to go to a boy of 8, the other to one of 12, on the basis of academical promise. In my opinion the College will need in future to found many more scholarships of this kind in order to make it possible for boys to enter the College from comparatively poor homes, but I think thatt the basis of award should be the home conditions and not the academical promise. This subject is discussed more fully in Chapter VI.

Mention has been made already of the resignation of Mr. V. S. Forbes. I was very sorry to lose him but convinced thatt he was right to go. He was yet another instance to strengthen my belief thatt experts are thrown away on a school. I do not mean thatt he, like some other experts, knew his subject, but could not teach it; for he was an excellent and most conscientious teacher of geography even to junior classes. But he possessed qualifications to teach geography at the highest level, he could make no use of his special knowledge and experience in the College, nor had he time for any original work. Einsteins can be better employed than in teaching vulgar factions! I quote what I wrote of him in my annual report on the year. 'Mr. V. S. Forbes, Vice-Principal, was offered the post of Lecturer in Geography at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa, accepted it and left on December 14th, he and his wife carrying with them the good wishes of everyone in the College. It is worth recording, I think, because little known, how much useful work Mr. Forbes did for the College behind the scenes, so to speak. For instance, in his last twelve months here, he brought out a new Poetry book; made two accurate maps with different scales of the College Estate; started a collection of local minerals; planted, rooted out and attended to innumerable trees; selected our library of gramophone records of European classical music; changed chaos into order in more than one stockbook. Such work does not strike the eye of a visitor or even of an Inspector perhaps; but it is immensely valuable, and I think I pay truer tribute to the value of his services by mentioning it rather than his widely praised teaching work in the Geography room. He and his wife must be a big loss to the College.' I was fortunate to get his place filled by Mr. R. S. Mani, who besides being a trained teacher and a graduate with honours in geography has also strengthened the department of mathematics.

The Committee agreed in this year to open a provident fund for all subordinate employees, but the grant to them of time-scales of pay and annual increments had to wait until 1942.

This was the last year during the war in which it was possible to

undertake any major improvements. I was able to complete my plan, made in 1931, of making some substantial improvement in every master's house. The four masters' houses near the east gate had only two good living-rooms each and they were now enlarged to have three. Their courtyards were also improved and septic-tank sanitation was installed.

We started on a plan to overcome the many disadvantages possessed by the flat roofs of the boarding-houses. It was to build on top of them a light, low pitched, roof of tiles. The wing of Balram Das boarding-house was thus roofed in this year; that of Rajendra Das in 1942. Nothing more could be done after that year owing to the high cost of materials. I hope thatt, when prices fall, the plan will be completed because the work already done has proved to be a great success.

A hotwater supply was installed in the bathrooms of both boarding-houses, enabling us to employ fewer servants to wait on the boys, and the urinals were fitted with an automatic flush-system. The farm was doubled in size, though only half of the extension could be irrigated. The 22 acres of pasture-land west of my house were fenced.

Some boys of this period, on leaving the College, made fashionable the practice of making a donation. The College through their thoughtfulness secured some very useful equipment. I have already mentioned the Library donation of the Maharaja of Kanker. The Raja of Kurupam gave Rs. 1,200 for a cinema projector; Shanker Pratap Deo of Chichli Rs. 300 for a radiogram; Raja Bir Udit Pratap Shekhar Deo of Gangpur Rs. 1,000 for a Gestetner Duplicator, the balance to help pay for a hospital ward for servants; his mother Rs. 500 to provide the Hospital with linen; Shyam Shah of Panabaras Rs. 250 to improve the gardens and the same amount for the Seva Samiti; Bijai Bhushan Singh Deo of Jashpur Rs. 500 for a bookstand to hold the record book, the balance for the library; Chandra Chur Prasad Singh Deo of Udaipur Rs. 850 for an electrolux. The staff and I were conceited enough to assume thatt all these donors felt good-will towards a school which had given them an education that they had appreciated, and so were greatly encouraged by their generosity. It is my opinion thatt the set leaders and privileged boys from about 1940 onwards (nearly all these donors were in that category) set good examples, exerted good influence, and helped the College even more by their success in establishing a good tone than by their gifts, valuable though these were. The College, not to be outdone by them, purchased out of the property of the late Mahant of Nandgaon State an excellent collection of records of classical Indian and European music.

The Diploma examination was taken for the last time in April.

Every boy who had a chance to pass, and one or two who had none, were allowed to sit. Four boys passed in the second division, one failed by two marks in his aggregate and the one or two others met their expected fate. Both the I.A. students who sat passed; and for the first time a boy sat for and passed the Bombay Intermediate Drawing examination. Also for the first time, two boys were allowed to compete at the All-India Music Conference at Allahabad. Both secured second class certificates and second places in their groups. These were outward signs of the greatly increased interest in Art and Music stimulated by Mr. Pancholey and Mr. Pathak. The form that this chapter has taken does not lend itself to a disquisition on cultural activities, so I must confine myself to recording thatt not only music and art but also singing, literary composition, acting, modelling, and dancing, attracted many boys at this time. It has been my experience thatt Rajgond boys very commonly possess artistic talent of some kind.

This was the last year when it was possible to obtain lecturers from outside and to arrange any kind of educational tour. In addition to Dr. Freund's fortnightly lectures on physiology, eight other lectures were delivered. The tour was a forestry one to Kanker State.

It was also the last year in which an ambitious programme of 'away' matches could be arranged. The very enjoyable visit to the Daly College has been mentioned (it will be their turn to come here as soon as there are any vacant seats in a train again); Bishop Cotton School, Nagpur, came to play football; and hockey on a ground half way between the two schools was played against the B.N.R. School at Kharagpur.

The private servant graph, of perennial interest to me, showed a satisfactory decline to 16, including cooks and all servants of 'bungalow boys'. Indeed, the latter were responsible for half of the sixteen.

1942–43.

I have taken these two years together, because their most important events were spread over both. The middle of the period was to me personally the most unhappy one of my principalship. My unlucky star was shining. The hot weather of 1942 was exceptionally severe and I had to work hard through it; an exceptionally large number of staff vacancies occurred, several of which had to be filled at short notice; the College lost the whole of its medical staff almost simultaneously; their departure was followed by a severe epidemic of malaria; the Japanese were threatening to invade N. E. India; a long and arduous court of enquiry caused a great amount of work and worry; I had no Vice-Principal and no Bursar; a boy swallowed some acid, nearly died,

and was in bed for months; his mother who had come to be with him was suddenly taken ill and died herself; I felt thatt I had lost the confidence of the Committee and placed my resignation in its hands. By the beginning of 1943, I had no doubt left whether troubles do or do not come singly, even if I was too pre-occupied also to perceive thatt out of evil comes good!

Nevertheless, it is apparent now thatt work of great importance to the College was done in this unhappy period.

A Sub-committee under the chairmanship of the Raja Bahadur of Khairagarh State rewrote the whole of the rules of the Society. With the exception of two, the new rules ought to prove satisfactory for many years to come. The exceptions are the rules defining membership of the Council and Committee. Up to the time of writing, these rules have not been fully agreed on to suit all interests, but certain changes have been accepted. A Vice-President was appointed and at the election in 1943 the Raja of Dhenkanal State was elected President and the Raja Bahadur of Sakti State the first Vice-President. The representatives of the Old Boys Association were increased from three to five. The Patrons agreed to nominate four instead of eight members, but it is still in dispute whether they should nominate only Zemindars or whomever they like. Two representatives of parents have been added to the Council but it has not yet been settled whether the number should be increased to four by requiring thatt the two members representing the general public of Orissa and the Central Provinces should also be parents of past or present pupils. It has also not yet been decided whether the Educational Adviser should continue to be a member and whether Zemindars, if no longer nominated by the Patrons, should be given a new representation.

The Committee was changed in a few ways dictated by practical convenience. The Political Agents of Orissa and Chhattisgarh now take turns to sit, each for a year at a time. The representative of the Governor of the Central Provinces is now the representative of all the Patrons on the Committee. One representative of the Old Boys has a seat. But it still remains unsettled whether one or two Zemindars and one or no representative of the parents shall have seats.

The second big task of the period was the rewriting of the whole of the 'Rules for Employees of the College'. I received valuable help from the staff over this labour, but nevertheless it was an arduous one. So many changes were made thatt only the chief ones can be mentioned here.

For the first time, the rules prescribed the conditions of service of the subordinate as well as the superior staff. Every class of employee

from now on was granted a time-scale, annual increments, and a provident fund.

The post of Vice-Principal was abolished and that of Bursar created to relieve the Principal of as much routine office-work as possible, especially of accounts and domestic economy. Five senior members of the staff were placed in charge of the teaching, stores, health, physical education, and estate departments and were given a free hand to run them and to spend the money allotted to them as they thought best, subject only to the obligation to consult the Principal on all major questions. At first it was thought desirable to pay allowances to these heads of departments, but in 1945 they were discontinued except that of the master in charge of the stores. The two Housemasters, however, were given and have kept allowances of Rs. 50 p.m. each, but they were expected to do full-time teaching in addition to their work as Housemasters. They were to be assisted by three House Tutors, also full-time teachers, who received allowances of Rs. 50 p.m. each during term-time only.

Only Class I employees, that is to say masters drawing Rs. 150 p.m. and over, were to be given contracts; the first one was to run for three years, but at the end of that period could by mutual agreement be replaced by a second contract terminating at age 55.

The salaries of all employees were improved, especially those of Class I employees—an act by which the Committee at a time of financial anxiety proclaimed its faith in the future of the College and the need for a well-paid staff. The basic scale for every class I employee was fixed in 1943 at Rs. 150–15–285. That scale was deemed to be the best that the College could then afford, but was not, nor ever should be, considered to be all that the College need offer. As the prosperity of the College increases, I hope thatt both the maximum and minimum figures in this scale will be raised. Five selection posts were created to be filled by promotion of masters above the basic scale; that of the Headmaster fixed in 1945 at Rs. 400–20–600, that of the Bursar Rs. 400–15–490 and three posts in the scale of Rs. 300–15–390. If later on the basic scale is raised above Rs. 285, the starting pays of the 'selection' posts will presumably be also raised.

It would be tedious to describe these new rules in more detail, and unnecessary because they already have been printed. Their object, to have a contented staff, is one that many passages in this book have emphasized as essential.

The third major problem of this period was the question what is the minimum authority that the Principal must wield over his staff, without which he cannot run the College properly. The question is

one of fundamental importance for a school, so perhaps it was as well thatt every member of the Council was forced to make up his mind on the many points involved. Some members, a minority as it turned out, favoured a considerable limitation of the Principal's existing authority to engage, promote, and terminate the services of his staff. How to define his authority was the main problem, but experience had also shown thatt some of the rules in force, especially that governing a case of suspension, were very cumbersome in practice and needed reform. It was also necessary to define the powers of the Committee over the staff, so thatt no conflict would be likely to arise between the Committee and the Principal. All this work was delicate and at times unpleasant but it was unavoidable and was, I think, well done in the end. I was very impressed with the good sense of the Council when it really got to grips with the whole problem; and I greatly hope thatt the decisions, reached with travail in 1943, will be found to work too well to be disturbed for many years.

Mention has already been made of the fact thatt this was a period of many changes in the staff for various reasons. Miss Barrell, Dr. Freund, Mr. Gadre, and Mr. Banwar, my secretary, all went off to do war service. Mr. K. K. Misra resigned, Dr. Menon got a post that he preferred in Kawardha State, Mr. Pancholey a good appointment in the J.J. School of Arts, Bombay. The services of Miss Melville and Mr. Mohan were dispensed with and Mr. V. V. Joshi, the electrician, was dismissed. Miss Stockton took Miss Barrell's place, the Civil Surgeon again became the Medical Adviser, and it was decided to engage a local doctor, Dr. B. C. Gupta, to visit the College daily instead of having a doctor in residence. The reason for this change (with which everyone at that time agreed) was thatt doctors were too scarce in wartime, for it to be fitting for the College to retain one, but I have expressed my opinion elsewhere in this book thatt the College will be better off without a resident doctor even in peace-time.

When Miss Melville and my secretary left, the two Miss McGavrans, daughters of an American missionary near Mungeli, came for a year. They taught English to junior classes, did my secretarial work, and helped Miss Stockton and my wife with the care of small boys. Mr. P. P. Bose succeeded Mr. Pancholey as Art master; Mr. P. C. Misra, took the place of Mr. Mohan as teacher of Oriya and History. Mr. R. K. D. Kapur and Mr. Dass took over the teaching of biology, and the former assumed sole responsibility for the estate, including the farm, and for the teaching of agricultural science on which the Cambridge Syndicate started setting a special paper in 1943. Mr. K. S. Mehrotra joined temporarily in Mr. Gadre's place, taking English and Urdu, the latter a new subject

for which provision had to be made, because of the admission of some Muslim boys.

The Indian Public Schools Conference had started to encourage exchanges of masters between Conference schools; as part of that scheme Mr. J. B. Kapur spent a very profitable month at the Aitchison College, and Sardar Jagjit Singh a month at Raipur. What experience I have acquired so far makes me think thatt a visit of a fortnight or so by a master to another school is very valuable; but when he goes there to teach as well as to observe, he is not able to do either very well.

The Thakur of Kawardha State resigned his chairmanship of the Committee at the end of 1942, and his place was taken by the Raja Bahadur of Khairagarh State. At the end of 1943 new elections were held. The Raja of Dhenkanal State became the first Oriya President of the Council, the Raja Bahadur of Khairagarh State was chosen to continue as Chairman of the Committee, and its other elected members were the Rulers of Patna, Kalahandi, and Sonpur, the Maharajkumar of Chotanagpur, and the Zemindar of Komakhan. The large attendances at Council meetings during this period indicate the interest, perhaps I should say the critical interest, displayed in the College by Council members! Thirty one attended one of the three meetings of this period; twenty-two and eighteen the other two. They passed some interesting resolutions. One was thatt no new entrant might live in a private house or bring any private servant except up to the end of the school-year in which he was admitted. There were nine old private servants left at the end of 1943; by the end of 1945, there were none. No boy lived in a private house after the middle of 1945 when the last two English boys left. This rule of the Council of 1943 has, therefore, achieved its object. The same cannot be said of a recommendation to parents, made by the same Council, thatt no boy ought to leave till he is 18.

The Committee carried on its good work of gradually putting the College education within reach of more parents by allowing senior officials of the E.S.A. to send their sons on terms equivalent to the grant of bursaries worth Rs. 660 p.a. Unfortunately, however, it had at this time to raise all fees by Rs. 120 p.a. on account of the increased cost of living in war-time. There was no intention to retain this extra charge when prices fell. So greatly had all concerned endeavoured to cut out unnecessary expenditure by or on behalf of the boys thatt the actual amount spent on the average boy in 1942 was only Rs. 604–1–0, and in 1943 Rs. 637–11–0. But the rising cost of living raised the figures to Rs. 687 in 1944 and Rs. 755 in 1945. The 1946 budget estimated Rs. 785! These sums did not include any charge for tuition,

but they were very much lower than the old figures of annual expenditure per boy. The cost of living did not begin to rise seriously till the end of 1942. The then rise enabled the Stores to make the record profit of Rs. 5,312 for the year 1942–43.

There were three Prizegivings and Old Boys Gatherings during the period. In 1941, 42, and 43 the experiment was tried of holding these functions at the end of January or in early February. This time of year proved to be less convenient, and at the end of 1943 the function was held again in mid-December as it had been prior to 1941. The President of the Council established a new convention in 1943 thatt once during his tour of office he should preside at the prizegiving. The guests of honour at the other two were Col. C. P. Hancock, C.I.E., O.B.E., M.C., the Resident, Eastern States, and Sir Sarvapali Radhakrishnan, the Vice-Chancellor, Benares University. The latter invitation had a double purpose; to increase the popularity of the function by including a 'star' orator in the bill, and to interest distinguished educationists of Sir Sarvapali's type in the College.

The Mess was moved to the ground floor of the Balram Das boarding-house and the rooms on that floor in the senior house were used as bedrooms. The old housemaster's suite downstairs in the junior house was modified for use by an unmarried member of the staff, and part of the adjoining bathroom was converted into a Mess larder and store-room.

The only new construction of the period was the commencement of a new well to the east of the Guest House, the roofing of the south western wing of Rajendra Das boarding-house, and the building of a hospital ward for servants. It has already been recorded thatt the Raja of Gangpur State and his mother contributed nearly half the cost of the latter project. Two other very generous gifts at the end of 1943 and beginning of 1944 were donations of Rs. 10,000 each from the Rulers of Raigarh and Korea States, the former towards the cost of a music school, the latter towards that of a museum. These sums have not yet been spent. Another welcome gift was an Inter-Set challenge trophy for music presented by the Juvraj of Kharsawan State.

Numbers remained exasperatingly stationary during the period. At the beginning of 1942, they were 62; of 1943, 59, and of 1944, 64. December 1942, saw for the first time five boys appear for the Cambridge School certificate and five for the junior. It was, as I have said, an unlucky year for me, so two candidates fell ill during the examination. Of the other eight, six failed and only one secured a senior and one a junior certificate. It was a bad start but some excuses are legitimate. The candidates were taking an examination of higher standard of which

no one in the College had then had any previous experience. Three candidates had no real chance, but they had reached an age at which they had to leave whether they passed or failed. It has always seemed to me unfair to debar such a candidate from sitting, because his doing so is likely to spoil the examination results of his school. If he has worked for years at the syllabuses, he ought to be allowed to indulge his forlorn hope.

However, it is pleasant to be able to record a much better result in 1943. Five candidates sat for and all obtained junior certificates. Five sat for and three obtained senior ones. Two of the latter secured first-classes, one of whom, the son of the Headmaster, distinguished himself greatly. Moreover, the successful candidates took the examination at about the same age as boys in English schools do—a very important point. Three boys sat for the Bombay Intermediate Drawing examination and two passed. At the Music Conference at Allahabad, one boy was first in his group and won a first-class certificate, two won second-class ones, and two third-class. These, it should be noted, had to be won by playing to an audience of two or three thousand people, a fact thatt made the test more than one of musical skill alone.

One or two changes and innovations deserve mention, I think. A daily 'Assembly', copied from what I had seen at the Doon School, was introduced. Sets fell in outside the Main Hall, were inspected and marched in; the radiogram played Indian and Western Music in turn; one of the prayer-songs by Tagore was sung; a prayer was read; a few moments of silence, and then notices were given out. I have not met anyone who did not think thatt the innovation was one for the better.

Up to this time, the names of prizewinners had been painted on boards. Old boards had been filled up and there was no wall space for all the new ones needed. To overcome this practical difficulty Mr. Pancholey and Mr. Bose and their artists suitably illuminated the pages of a record book of handsome appearance and inscribed in it the names of all the winners of all cups, prizes, and distinctions, from the beginning of time. The work took a long time. Meanwhile a carved walnut book stand (the gift of the Raja of Jashpur State) was prepared to our design in Kashmir and provides the 'holy' resting-place of the book when new names are not being added.

I managed, but with considerable trouble, to persuade a reluctant Committee to abolish riding and dispose of the horses and equipment at the end of 1943, in order to be able to convert the stables into a dairy. That was by no means my only reason for my recommendation. The day, when 'everyone who was anyone' rode, is over in India; schools cannot teach everything and so they must concentrate on the

subjects of most current importance. Riding was no longer one of these, and, moreover, it is an accomplishment and an exercise most suitable for practice at home in vacations by boys whose parents want them to ride. A temporary but cogent argument against keeping on the College horses at the end of 1943 was thatt it had become extremely difficult to feed them owing to the many war-time restrictions on the movement of grain, and the cost per horse was rising steeply.

Dramatics was as popular as ever and the dramatic ability in the College has always struck me as high. This is one reason why I recommend at the end of Chapter VI the construction of a good open-air theatre. The engagement of a member of the staff, who is an experienced dramatic producer and might well possess other artistic talents of which good use could be made, is a new appointment that I feel I could justify for the same reason; namely thatt the talent exists but much of it remains dormant, because the existing staff is too busy. Nevertheless, I wrote a burlesque 'Inside Europe' for the boys to act which earned Rs. 500 for war funds in 1942; and scenes from 'Twelfth Night' were excellently acted early in 1944. In the winter of 1942–43 a Hindi and an Oriya play struck me, so far as I could judge, as having been well acted. I should like, however, to repeat thatt what dramatic work has been done in my principalship convinces me thatt two or three times as much ought to be done; but to do so much as that will need direction and training by a qualified person.

The Indian Public Schools Conference met twice at Indore and Lahore. It published 'The Indian Public School' (O.U.P.), the best book issued so far, I think I may say, on the Indian residential school. Its other chief concerns were exchanges of teachers, improvement of the Cambridge examinations, the administrative training of future Rulers, and the closest possible co-operation between member-schools.

**1944–45.**

My account of this period must be sketchy, because this chapter will go to the press before 1945 is over and because from mid-April to the end of 1944 I was in England. It can do no more than record the main events, ask a few questions that only the future can answer, and express a few pious hopes.

Except for six weeks in March and April 1938, I had had no leave out of India since 1935. By the end of 1943, I had accumulated so many urgent private affairs in England to attend to, thatt my wife and I decided to risk a voyage in war-time. Mr. J. M. Gwyn of the Aitchison College accepted an invitation to officiate during my absence. He paid short visits in February and April and at the

end of June took over from Mr. J. B. Kapur, who had officiated for two months. So much satisfaction did he give during the next six months thatt the Council at its meeting in December invited him permanently to take my place. Terms were agreed on, he went for a holiday in England in June 1945, and is expected to take over charge from me at the end of February 1946, 25 years and a month after my first arrival. So simply and smoothly did the College in the end find a successor with all the necessary qualifications, at a time when Principals were as rare as rain in Aden. I think thatt it has been very fortunate.

The first event of 1944 was the award of a C.I.E. to me. This should be regarded as an honour paid to the College that I, as its chief executive officer, was lucky to receive on its behalf. Without intelligent and progressive planning by the Governing Body and without a staff capable of turning plans into deeds, I alone could have done nothing deserving recognition.

The first meeting of assistant masters of the Indian Public Schools Conference was held at the College in February 1944. This meeting gave Mr. Gwyn, one of the two Lahore representatives, his first sight of it. The Indian Public Schools Conference started these annual meetings not only to enable assistant masters to consult together and put forward their views on subjects of interest to them, but also to widen their outlooks by giving them opportunities to see other schools. The second meeting of these masters was held at the Doon School in April 1945. The Indian Public Schools Conference itself did not meet in 1944 but met twice in 1945; in February at Udaipur, Mewar, and in October at Gwalior. At the first meeting a plan to arrange interchanges of masters between English and Indian schools was discussed; I hope very much thatt it will be tried after the war, but it was decided thatt 1945 was too early for a first attempt. Another subject that may be of great importance to the College in future was discussed at Gwalior, namely the question of the Government of India's establishing or recognizing residential feeder-schools, to which Government scholars would be sent and from which suitable recruits would enter the Indian War Memorial Academy, which would be charged with the responsibility of supplying officers for India's Army, Navy, and Air force. Will the College ever be recognized as one of these feeder-schools?

As both schools wished to give a good trial to the Indian Public Schools Conference's scheme of exchanges of teachers, Mr. L. M. Verghese of the Rajkumar College, Rajkot, exchanged with Mr. Mani for six weeks at the beginning of 1944 to increase each other's experience. They

would have benefited more if they had not had to spend most of each day of their visit in teaching.

Several changes in the staff took place, and these are recorded in their order of occurrence. The two Miss McGavrans left for the U.S.A. in April 1944. Miss M. Das, B.A., (Hons.) B.T., was appointed to teach English to the junior forms; in July 1945 she moved into the suite of rooms upstairs in Balram Das boarding-house, which the Matron had previously used. Mr. W. L. Joshi was appointed as Principal's Secretary in May 1944. In August, Mrs. Kelly joined as first house-keeper in charge of the mess. At the end of October Miss Stockton died very suddenly. It is my belief thatt she had known for some time thatt she had a serious complaint, but so conscientious and inflexible was she thatt she refused to take timely notice of it. After a short interregnum Mrs. Chambers took her place in January 1945, and in July moved to the staff house close to and south of the hospital. From the time of her arrival, the Matron ceased to be in charge of the junior boarding-house as well as of the hospital. Mr. B. N. Shukla undertook that duty, assisted by his wife as 'Housemother', and also by Miss Das. Mr. Mehrotra resigned his post in December 1944. His place was taken temporarily by Mr. H. Ahmad and in June 1945 by Mr. Tajuddin.

A very great loss in March 1945 was sustained by the departure of Mr. S. N. Kunzru after sixteen years of first-class schoolmastering. Nevertheless, I forced myself to take the same long view as I had taken when Mr. Raghoraj Singh left, and to do what I could to assist his becoming Diwan of Udaipur State, a post with much better prospects than he could hope for in College service. In June 1945, Mr. R. K. D. Kapur took his place as Bursar, giving up all his class work except the teaching of agricultural science. To strengthen the mathematical department Mr. P. A. Bambawale, M.Sc., LL.B., was engaged.

As this chapter goes to press, I learn thatt Mr. P. C. Mathew will be the fifth member of the staff who on my recommendation has been taken into State service. He and his wife are to become the guardians of the Bastar State Raj family at the end of the year. They also will be a big loss to the College from the short-term point of view.

On page 145, the particulars of the staff that I had collected at the beginning of 1932 are given. The staff at the end of 1945 is enumerated below for the sake of comparison:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Mr. J, B. Kapur, B.Sc., Dip. Ed. (London), Headmaster ... | Rs. 400–20–600 |
| 2. | ,, A. K. Das, B.Sc. ... ... ... ... ... | ,, 300–15–390 |
| 3. | ,, P. C. Mathew, B.A., B.P.E., (U.S.A.), Housemaster ... | ,, 300–15–390 |
| 4. | ,, R. K. D. Kapur, M.Sc., L.T., Bursar ... ... | ,, 400–15–490 |
| 5. | ,, V. V. Sovani, M.A. (Sanskrit), M.A. (Hindi), LL.B. ... | ,, 150–15–285 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 6. Mr. J. D. Hermon, C.E., Building Superintendent | ... | Rs. 150–15–285 |
| 7. „ B. N. Shukla, M.A., B.T., Housemaster | ... ... | „ „ „ „ |
| 8. „ R. S. Mani, B.A. (Hons.), T.D. | ... ... ... | „ „ „ „ |
| 9. „ P. P. Bose, T. D. (Arts) Art-master | ... ... ... | „ „ „ „ |
| 10. „ P. C. Misra, B.A., Dip. Ed. | ... ... ... | „ „ „ „ |
| 11. Miss M. Das, B.A. (Hons.), B.T. | ... ... ... | „ „ „ „ |
| 12. Mrs. Kelly Housekeeper | ... ... ... ... | „ 150–15–180 *with board* |
| 13. Mrs. Chambers, S.R.N., Hospital Matron | ... ... | Rs. 150–15–285 |
| 14. Mr. R.S. Pathak, B.A., I.A. (Music), Music Master | ... | „ „ „ „ |
| 15. „ P. A. Bambawale, M.Sc., LL.B. | ... ... ... | „ „ „ „ |
| 16. „ M. Tajuddin, B.Sc., B.T. | ... ... ... | „ „ „ „ |
| 17. „ Anant Ram, Head Clerk | ... ... ... ... | Rs. 80–5–125 |
| 18. „ W. L. Joshi, Secretary | ... ... ... | „ „ „ „ |
| 19. Subedar Gangaram, Drill Instructor | ... ... ... | Rs. 50–2½–80 |
| 20. Mr. G. R. Nanekar, Stores Manager | ... ... ... | „ „ „ „ |
| 21. „ L. N. Agrawal, Second Clerk | ... ... ... | „ „ „ „ |
| 22. „ C. Daniel, Dairy Manager | ... ... ... ... | „ „ „ „ |
| 23. „ Shrihari Zadgaonkar, Electricity and Water Supply | ... | „ „ „ „ |
| 24. „ Horilal, Third Clerk | ... ... ... ... | „ 30½–1½–50 |
| 25. Mrs. B.N. Shukla, part-time Housemother | ... ... | Rs. 50 |

Mr. Gadre, M.A., Dip. Ed., and Mr. Mozumdar, M.A., still on war service, retained liens on two posts; on their return two of the above teaching masters will have to make way for them, if no increase of posts is sanctioned.

Two boys only sat for the School Certificate in 1944; one passed in the second class, the other was very unlucky to fail in spite of securing five credits. Two boys also sat for and won Junior Certificates, one boy securing a very good result. Five boys will sit for the School Certificate in December 1945 and five for the Junior Certificate. I think thatt this School Certificate batch is the youngest and best that the College has so far produced.

The second inspection that was mainly concerned with assessing the teaching efficiency of the Staff was held in August 1944. If Major Biscoe, the Political Officer associated with the inspection, is included, the inspectors numbered no fewer than six! Dr. Sen was assistant to the Educational Adviser, the other four, Dr. Thomas, M.A., Ph.D., Dr. S. K. Chatterji, M.A., D.Litt., Mr. S. C. Tripathi, I.E.S., D.P.I. (Orissa), and Mr. Bhanja, M.A., were all educationists from Bengal and Orissa. I think thatt Dr. Sargent had a double purpose in sending so large a team. He thought thatt it might help the College for these gentlemen to be able to speak about it in their provinces to potential parents. Once again the College got a fairly good report and the staff received congratulations. It would have been improved if several small inaccuracies had been corrected; for instance, a salary for the Art-master

was recommended which he was already getting. But it was a helpful report, and I hope that some of its main recommendations will be acted upon in future. Chief of these were the strong recommendations to open a school for Rajkumaris and one or more feeder-schools of the kindergarten type, and to send more masters overseas for training. Another excellent feature of the report was the importance it attached to the teaching of Art and Music. The old question of numbers naturally concerned the inspectors most. Their recommendation that all kinds of day-boy should be admitted was to my mind dangerous. After long travail the College has just secured equal treatment for all boys. This is a great achievement; and it would be quickly destroyed if a rich parent was allowed to take a house in Raipur, fill it with guardians and servants, and send his son as a day-boy. The inspectors also repeated a recommendation that has been made before but for which I have never been able to see justification. They said that the College ought to prepare both for the Cambridge examinations and for Indian matriculation. To do this would require extra staff and expense; yet at another place in their report the inspectors commented on the already large number of masters employed. The College in my opinion cannot afford even to think of two nearly parallel examinations of this type until its numbers reach 120.

Some alterations in the Main Building enabled space previously wasted to be put to use as a Bursar's office, a record room, and a book-store from where all text-books are now issued.

Several alterations were also carried out to the stables to fit them for use as a dairy. The Animal Husbandry department of the Central Provinces government rendered invaluable help in training the dairy staff and in buying a buffalo bull and 24 buffalo cows. The dairy was established as much as possible on commercial lines on January 1st 1945 and took an interest-bearing loan from the College of Rs. 16,600, later increased by Rs. 700. This money was mainly spent on purchase of stock and of the stable buildings, whose depreciated value was estimated at Rs. 6,000. During its first year of working, the Dairy had to pay over Rs. 3,000 out of its earnings on further improvement of buildings and so made no profit, but there seems no reason why it should not become as profitable a concern as the Stores in the years to come.

The Maharaja of Sonepur State gave the College a sum of Rs. 12,000 in 1944 to enable it to build a sports pavilion and running track in memory of his father. This construction and that of the well started in 1943 were completed in 1945. The pavilion has been designed for several purposes: to serve as a roofed gymnasium, a store-room for

games equipment, and a grandstand for spectators. Inside the track of 400 metres, all the apparatus required for physical training, which is not better kept under a roof has been erected. The pavilion, on the edge of the old 1st XI football ground, has been so sited thatt three tennis courts could later on be constructed both to the east and to the west of it.

It was decided in 1944 to do more than had yet been done to reduce the number of mosquitoes that infest the College. Nothing that the College alone does will eliminate them entirely, because the grounds are surrounded by breeding places over which it has no control. It was felt, however, thatt a well planned campaign would afford some relief. The Tata Iron and Steel Company at Jamshedpur proved to be most helpful. It sent its malarial expert and his assistant to inspect and report. It was impossible in 1945 to act upon all the recommendations of the report as several necessary materials were not obtainable, but many of them were carried out and nearly Rs. 1,000 were spent. The Company also trained a man in anti-malarial work who joined in July 1945. I cannot honestly say thatt there has since been a noticeable decrease in the mosquito-population, but to expect a miracle in the first year would be unreasonable. The campaign must be persevered with for three or four years before it can be dubbed a success or failure. It may be only a coincidence thatt there were fewer cases of malaria than usual in August and September, but I hope thatt this improvement is more than a stroke of luck.

Numbers in 1944 hovered as usual between 60 and 64; then, suddenly and unexpectedly, shot up in January 1945 to 74, our record number up-to-date. It is always dangerous to prophesy about next year's numbers, but there are signs thatt they may rise even above 74. The question, (the correct answer to which is very important,) is 'Is this increase a temporary one created by people who have made money out of the war and lasting no longer than the time it takes them to spend that money?' or 'Is it a permanent increase caused by a growing recognition thatt education at the College is worth having?'. No one yet knows the answer; the optimist will give one, the pessimist the other. Let us hope thatt the optimist is right! If he is, the question of increased dormitory accommodation will become urgent in the near future, because the present dormitories, as now arranged, accommodate only 76 boys. The subject is discussed in Chapter VI. Before leaving the question of numbers, it is interesting to note thatt out of 41 boys admitted in 1944 and 1945 (some of these stayed only a short time) 27 were not kumars.

The Raja of Kurupam Estate and the Juvraj of Korea State were

the two extra representatives of the Old Boys' Association, and Mr. A. K. Aga and Maharajkumar Rajkishore Nath Shah Deo, the first representatives of the parents on the Council. Rajkumar Bikram Bahadur Singh of Khairagarh took the place of the Raja of Parikud Estate as the Old Boys' representative on the Committee. Sir Henry Twynam, Governor of the Central Provinces, presided at the Prizegiving of 1944.

During the first nine months of 1945, the Golden Jubilee Fund increased from Rs. 25,516 to Rs. 38,559, thus bringing it close to the original target of Rs. 40,000 set up in 1934. Some more subscriptions may still be expected. During 1945, the biggest subscribers were the Maharaja of Kalahandi State and the Raja of Dhenkanal State. A very much appreciated gift of Rs. 400 to the Library was made by Rani Sahiba Rukmani Devi of Gangpur; and one of Rs. 1,000 by Ranpur State for a purpose not yet settled.

I fear thatt my unlucky star of 1942 shone again during the monsoon term of 1945! The health of the College was worse than I ever remember it to have been; the ill luck was thatt every case of serious illness originated outside the College grounds. Three boys brought typhoid from their homes; one of them, Kameshwar Saran Singh of Surguja, developed pneumonia on top of typhoid and to everyone's deep regret died in the Silver Jubilee hospital on the 24th day of his illlness. No boy still at the College had died since 1921, and it added to my personal grief thatt Kameshwar had lived for some years in my house and was regarded by my wife and me almost as a son.

Mumps was introduced probably from the city by a servant; and, in spite of isolation of patients, spread so fast thatt the College had to be closed ten days early in September. Many boys contracted the disease after they went home.

One of the staff on his return from the summer vacation was found to be a carrier of diphtheria, but fortunately was isolated before he had infected anyone. Two boys returned in July suffering from serious blood poisoning and another from severe malaria. None of these illnesses was in any way the fault of the College, yet they made for the Matron and me a nightmare of one short term. To finish it off in good style, a mild epidemic of cough and cold, bordering on influenza, broke out at the end of term in order to complete the discomfiture of a devoted but heavily overworked hospital staff. There is a large element of luck in the successful running of a residential school.

I should like to close this chapter on a happier topic and one can easily be found. The set leaders and privileged boys of the 1943–45 period really led, and showed a sense of responsibility, a power of organization and a degree of initiative, that was very creditable and

encouraging. Arunnath Shah Deo, head-boy for two years, showed unusual ability to organize them into an efficient and contented team. They established themselves as a valuable influence for good in the life of the College. May their successors maintain it!

Maharaja Bhanu Pratap Deo of Kanker State, who was at the College from 1929 to 1940 and passed both his Diploma and Intermediate examinations from it, has kindly at my request written the following reminiscence of his school-days:

'My College days were indeed very happy. There were times when I got into trouble and then it was not so pleasant, but on the whole I found that it was a delightful place, and I was actually on the verge of tears when I came to leave it finally. Vacations naturally were always eagerly awaited, but the prospect of leaving the college, its environment, its games, the old teachers I had known so long, and my friends, and exchanging from an intimate to a distant contact was rather painful. During my last week or so I went round to all the various spots which held dear memories for me, trying to recall all the various incidents of eleven years in seven days. I felt a great difference from what I had felt when I first came to College and looked forward to the day when I would finally pass out! When that day did come, I was not so happy as I had thought that I would be.

'In the College the day-to-day classes were of course a monotony and I shall not dwell upon them long. Mathematics particularly and subjects I had not done my homework in were dreaded. The lower classes were fun. We had only a few classes a day and the rest of the time was devoted to play. One day, when the teacher told us to bring our toys to class where we played as well as learnt our lessons, was just too good for words. In those days, we had Mark-Reading and Recitation on every alternate Saturday, and that too was fun. We could see exactly where we stood in class and that made us strive harder to get to the top, or, if we were already there, to strive even harder to stay. It was great fun to hear someone try to recite a poem he knew very little about and finally stand in disgrace on the centre table accompanied by those of us who had giggled at him too loudly.

'In the upper classes work was much more serious. One significant thing stands out in my memory. When I was in class III, the Dalton plan was tried and given up after a year. We had not been able to complete our courses, but what we learnt, at least what I learnt, was never forgotten.

'Leaving aside class work, everything else generally had a charm of its own. The most important of all was games. We played all sorts of games. The only game we missed and which almost everybody was interested in was cricket. This, however, we played voluntarily on Sundays. As a College game, however, it was sadly missed. The only disadvantage of all these games that I have since found is that one got so used to them and strenuous exercise daily that on leaving College one felt the need for daily games very strongly. There are many who cannot afford to play games, and others who do not get the opportunity for team games. For them the formed habit of daily strenuous exercise proves to be a curse, and they lose their health and vitality. If games did not become a habit and if walking

or riding were more encouraged instead, I think it would be advantageous, in later days, when the habit of gentle and independent exercise, like walking and riding, could be pursued. That does not mean that we disliked games. Of course, the fat boys did, but the rest loved them. There were matches and tours to places like Sakti, Gangpur, Bilaspur, Kanker, Nandgaon, Nagpur, and once even to Calcutta. They were very interesting and enjoyable.

'Talking about tours, during the last few years of my College days educational tours were started and these were greatly appreciated. They not only increased our knowledge, but also provided a delightful change from the usual monotony of a long term.

'Whilst in College we carried on some special activities. These were Gardening and Farming, Model-making, Painting and Drawing, Mechanics, Carpentry, Music and so on. We chose any special activity and applied ourselves to it. Naturally, each one was interested in the work he chose. The products of such activities as painting and model-making were exhibited at the Prizegiving. That brings me on to the topic of the Prizegiving. We all enjoyed them, because first of all it meant something grand and pompous, which generally brought the end of the term and a couple of days of extra holiday with it. It also meant that preparations had to be made weeks in advance, and this meant a relief from monotony. Poems had to be learnt, dramatics staged, and everything put ship-shape. Dramatics were greatly appreciated—in fact we loved them. On Prizegiving day the gala appearance, hundreds of visitors, and the presence of an important personage made us all very happy, as it brought a sense of grandeur and awe. The Prizegiving that stands out foremost in my memory was that at which Lord Irwin, now Lord Halifax, gave away the prizes. The Maharaja of Surguja brought an aeroplane, and the magnificent cars that each Ruler brought were greatly admired. Oh yes! we loved Prizegivings!

'Holidays and Sundays meant a great deal to us all. In fact, Sunday is the school-boy's most important day. We used to do all sorts of things from cycling, tree-climbing, silly games like "Ati-Pati", "Danda—Pachranga", "Guli-Danda", and "Cycle-Polo" to such things as Cricket, Shooting, Reading, Billiards, and Tennis. It was on Sundays that we went for picnics, swims, jackal hunting in the "Murram" pits or Dumartalai forest close by. That was the day when we gave vent to all the pent-up energy and emotions of a week.

'I have now come to the end of my experiences; not all by any means, but only those which I can write in a concise manner at short notice. However, I cannot close without saying a few words about those who did so much for me and who were of such great importance to my education and well-being; that is, the Principal and his wife. I lived in their bungalow, not in the boarding-house, and so it is easily understood why they were so important to me; the Principal for my education in school and his wife for my education at home. I, and there were others with me, were all loved by them both. They treated us like their own children, punished when naughty and adored when good, but loved at all times. They looked after us in health and in sickness, and saw to our scholarly, moral and spiritual education as well. They have influenced me nearly as much as my own parents, and I look upon them as my foster-parents.

'To sum up, I found my school days "jolly interesting", but that does not mean that I wish to repeat them. If at the age of 45, I say that my school days were the happiest of my life, that will be an admission of failure; but, having only just left school, I can in truth say that they were very happy indeed, and will ever remain a happy memory.'

CHAPTER SIX

# THE FUTURE: 1946–70

## An Epilogue

I see the College of 1945 as a building under construction whose foundations have been laid but whose superstructure has been hardly started. Its foundations have taken fifty-years to lay satisfactorily, because much of the subsoil was difficult to work in, some of the original design and construction needed alteration, the right materials were hard to obtain, and the labour employed was often insufficiently skilled. As there is not very much to see in a building only just above ground-level, so there is not really very much to see in the College of 1945 except the work still to be done before it can claim to be one of the famous schools of India. Yet no building can stand but on solid foundations. In the same way, if the College is now ready to go ahead, it is so, only because of the long, slow, solid work of the last fifty years.

In my opinion it is ready. The preparatory work has been done, the obstacles to progress have been removed, the suspicions have been allayed, and the prejudices are dying. I see good reason to hope thatt, twenty-five years from now, the College will be widely acknowledged as one of the best schools in India, a school into which any parent will be thankful to see his son admitted. The time has now come for expansion and development. A building has to be erected on the existing foundations that all who come will be proud to see. That is the work of the next twenty-five years as I see it. How is it to be done?

The College has to do three things, each of them a formidable task. It has to make for itself an important place in the national system of Indian education; it has to expand in many directions; and it has to provide an education that will stand comparison with that of any school in the world. This chapter discusses the nature of these tasks and how they might be tackled.

### Public Service.

During the last fifty years it has been one of the weaknesses of the College thatt it has stood outside the educational system of India. So far as the Indian public has considered the College and the few schools like it, it has said to itself, 'These schools have no interest in me, nor I in them. They cut no ice in Indian education.' There is a good deal of truth in this criticism but it is not wholly true. The College has

educated a number of Rulers of States and landowners, and it is a matter of vital concern to hundreds of thousands of Indians what sort of men these Rulers and landowners are. The College can claim thatt by educating them and trying to fit them to shoulder their responsibilities conscientiously it has been rendering a very important public service. Unfortunately, it cannot claim thatt its efforts have been crowned with great success, and so the public throws it no bouquets, especially as those Old Boys who are not Rulers and landowners have made lamentably little use of their educational training. A school is known by its products, and a school most of whose Old Boys are content to sit idle at home will be little known or thought of.

Perhaps the most important task of the next twenty-five years is this one of careers for Old Boys. It might prove impossible if the boys in the College were still drawn from one class only; but, fortunately, the College now contains a large number of boys of other classes whose parents will be as keen as the College must be to see them putting their education to good use in many ways useful to society.

One of the first things thatt the College ought to do is to encourage, and help if need be, the opening of a really good girls' school taking both boarders and day-girls. The connection between a girls' school and careers for the Old Boys of the College is not obvious but is, I believe, very close. It has been my experience thatt the main opposition to a young kumar's making his own way in the world has come from his mother and grandmother. One of the advantages of a good girls' school, open to Rajkumaris as well as to girls of other classes, would be thatt, when its pupils grew up and married, they would make more enlightened plans for their sons' futures. I shall return to this idea of a girls' school later in the chapter.

Besides doing all it can to persuade the hesitant to let their sons go out boldly into the world, and besides recruiting more sons of parents with already enlightened views on the subject, the College must so arrange its courses as to prepare boys for certain careers. Anyone who has any acquaintance with military academies will know thatt the routine, physical education, and discipline of the College give the right preliminary training to a boy aiming at one of the Defence Services or the Mercantile Marine. The College ought always to have a number of boys aiming at one of those careers and to seize any opportunity that offers to get itself recognised as an approved school by the Defence Department, provided thatt the conditions of recognition do not violate educational principles.

A boy who has paid the high cost of the College education, feels thatt he is entitled to aim high when he is choosing a career. Though

he may—and should—have to start humbly, he hopes for something much better than a subordinate position in later life. For this reason among many others, the College must give its best pupils a higher course than the School Certificate before they leave. Such boys will be passing that examination at about 15, when they are much too young to leave school. If the College were to provide a Higher Certificate course specializing, to begin with, in the Mathematics and Science groups of subjects, these boys at 17 would be fit and qualified to enter a large number of technical Colleges preparing for the medical, engineering, mining, veterinary, forestry, agricultural and the large number of other professions, aspirants to which must be well grounded at the start in the Sciences. In short, the College ought to put money into and expand its Science department, not only because India will have a great need of Science students but also because a high standard of Science teaching is what few schools in India can reach. In most schools classes are too big, equipment too expensive, space too cramped. The College ought also to do its utmost to establish contact with industries needing well-educated young men to train up for positions of responsibility. To give only two instances, the Tea Industry of Assam is beginning to recruit Indian assistants; and the College, with the emphasis it lays on agricultural science, ought to be able to place several boys in it. The Tata Iron and Steel Company, nearby at Jamshedpur, offers very attractive apprenticeships to young men with a good Higher Certificate in the Sciences, especially if geology is one of their subjects. What has happened in the past is thatt many able boys have gone to Universities—most of them at too early an age—and have selected subjects to study without a thought whether those subjects will qualify them for good openings. Indeed, many of them have frankly told me thatt they chose the subjects in which they thought thatt they could most easily pass. It has been only the degree, the letters after their name, that they wanted; not the career that a degree ought to lead up to. Here is revealed yet another reason why the College must retain its able boys till they are 17 or 18, in order to relate their higher studies to certain careers or groups of careers; and to save boys of 15 or 16 from the folly and waste of taking, say, Logic because someone says it is a 'soft' subject, and avoiding, say, Physics because the 'practicals' are held at the time when the cinemas are opening! I have felt more disheartened by the good material that I have seen wasted in ways like these than by anything else; the graduates fully content with graduation, the able boys choosing at their Universities only the line of least resistance. I have felt, and so must many members of my staff, thatt I have worked really hard over many years only to train up a winner for a race that he never runs.

I picture the Principal of the College during the next twenty-five years as giving almost as much time to touring as to any other part of his work; meeting employers, visiting technical Colleges of all kinds, visiting Old Boys, putting his finger—very tactfully of course—into every pie of which he thinks one of his boys might obtain a helping.

He will do this partly to help particular boys; partly because it is work that so far his parents have failed to do themselves; but mainly because, if the College is to thrive, it must demonstrate very clearly thatt it is rendering valuable service to the Indian nation. Its best service is to provide young men fit and ready to take up positions of trust and responsibility in all walks of life and able to 'hold their jobs down', as the saying is.

I have been thinking above, of course, of all those boys in the College who have not got ready-made careers awaiting them. But I do not forget the minor rulers and heirs to States and Estates for whose benefit the College was originally founded.

When I think of all the years of training through which a new entrant to the I.C.S. had to pass so thatt, at about the age of 26, he will be fit to perform the minor duties of an Assistant Commissioner (with a Deputy Commissioner always close at hand if he makes a mistake); and compare this long intensive training with that given to a minor Ruler who is given a number of ruling powers at the age of 21 and, soon after, complete charge of a State with often not half enough money with which to administer it properly:—then I wonder, indeed, not thatt some Rulers fail but thatt any succeed; and I also wonder what sort of Rulers of those States members of the I.C.S. would have made, if they had been installed at 21 with no better training than a young Ruler usually gets.

The point of all this wondering is not to invite an answer to my speculations, but to emphasize thatt the post-school administrative training of a young Ruler or Heir-Apparent is mainly an educational problem that has not yet been given the great attention that it deserves. Because it has been neglected and is important, I see a great chance for the College to perform another task of real national service by opening a course of administrative training for these young men and indeed for other young men who, though not future Rulers, wish to receive special training in administration. As there is no such course anywhere else in India, it might draw pupils from beyond the Eastern States. It would give the College what it is good for every school to have—a note of distinction. All schools teach certain things, but it is very desirable thatt a school aiming high should also teach something that other schools do not. The syllabus of this course already exists, and

competent judges have committed themselves so far as to say that it is well worth a trial. The College is peculiarly well placed and fitted to try the syllabus out; especially because the course must be in charge of a man who has had practical experience as the Diwan of a State, and no fewer than four ex-members of the College staff have not only that experience but also experience of the College and of teaching in it. By running and making a success of this course the College can not only do a good turn to the Eastern States which have helped the College so much in the past, but also to States and Provincial Governments all over India. The course would cost the College nothing, (indeed it should be able to make a profit out of it), as the whole cost would be shared amongst the pupils who, owing to their future status, would all be able to afford their full shares.

The first main task of the College will be, I said, to prove its national importance. I have got so far in my exposition of how it should do that as to suggest (*a*) that it should educate parents, where necessary, to encourage their sons to seek independent honourable careers (*b*) that it should provide courses of higher studies that directly prepare boys for good careers in which there are likely to be openings (*c*) that it should specialize in preparation for the Defence Services, in post-matriculation Mathematics and Science studies, and in imparting administrative training and (*d*) that the Principals of the next twenty-five years ought to be specially trained as commercial travellers! But there is yet another public service of a different kind that the College can render and that I now discuss.

The College is no longer exclusive to all but one class. But it is still, like the independent Public Schools of England, exclusive to all but the wealthy. Many boys who need a good boarding-school education cannot make use of the College, because they cannot afford to. The other public service that the College could render is to admit any boy who is found to need a boarding-school education and is capable of profiting by the one he will get in the College.

I am likely to be misunderstood, unless I explain what I mean by a boy who *needs* a boarding-school education; and therefore leave the College and its future for a page or two in order to define this type of boy.

If all homes were normal, happy, and good, there would be no children who could be classed as needing a boarding-school education. The common impression that I am ashamed to say I once held myself that good boarding-schools give a better education than good day-schools, is wrong. There is no justification, therefore, for urging that the cream of youthful intellect should be poured into boarding-schools

leaving the skimmed milk to the day-schools. A child from a normal, happy, good home is as likely to do well in a good day-school as in a boarding-school.

But all homes are not normal, happy, and good; and a good deal of special meaning is packed behind those three epithets. Sometimes it is the fault of the parents if the home fails to pass my test; sometimes the failure is entirely beyond the home's control. Let me explain by a few instances.

A home is not normal from an educational point of view, if one or both parents are dead or in bad health; if they live abroad; if the father in the course of his work is constantly touring or being transferred; if both husband and wife are 'gainfully employed'. The parents are not to blame for any of these abnormalities, but it is obvious thatt they all make the education of the children very difficult, unless they are placed in boarding-schools.

A home is not happy, when the parents live apart or are divorced or on bad terms; when a child does not get the affection it needs; when worries of various kinds beset the household. The parents may be considered usually to blame if there is an unhappy atmosphere in the home, but they can not fairly be blamed always. Poverty, accident, ill-health, unemployment are all destroyers of happiness which it is often beyond the power of individuals to defeat.

A home is not good, and the parents are to blame, when one or both of them are vicious, or when neither of them is in the least interested in the finer arts of life, or when children are pampered, indulged, and spoilt, or neglected or too much repressed. But a home is also not good from my educational point of view, and the parents are not to blame, when, for instance, it is situated in an out-of-the-way place near no school, or when the profession of the father compels him to live in cramped quarters in a big city where his children are deprived both of quiet for study or room to play. It is also not good, and it is hard to say where the blame lies, if a child has no others of his age to play with, if there are no books in the house, no regular hours to keep, no interesting people to meet or good talk to hear.

I think thatt I have said enough to show thatt in every society there are some children, not hard to pick out, who will get a much better education away from, than in, their homes. In a well planned scheme of national education boarding-schools have to be provided for them. This is the really important *raison d'etre* of the boarding-school; and it is not its real function to provide an expensive education for the children of well-to-do parents whose homes are normal, happy and good, in my sense of those words.

A few of the children really needing boarding-school education can, and should, pay for it in full. But the State that accepts the principle of equal educational opportunity for all must help those who cannot pay in full. The recent Fleming Report in England recommends thatt as many of these children as possible should be sent to boarding-schools, whether they can afford the cost or not; the parents paying what they are judged to be able to pay and the State paying the rest of the cost, in some cases the whole of it.

The grant of State scholarships to approved boarding-schools for children judged by an expert selection committee, really to need boarding-school education and able to profit by it has not yet been contemplated by Indian Education Departments; but it is a provision so manifestly right and just thatt they must be made to think about it a great deal during the next twenty-five years—the period during which the Sargent Scheme or one very like it will be coming into full operation. It is an addition to that scheme thatt must be pressed and fought for. The first goal is the establishment of a few State scholarships of this kind, never mind how few; next, the increase in their number; then, as places for these State scholars in existing boarding-schools become scarce, the opening of new boarding-schools. It will be a fight worth fighting, for, alas! the number of children in India whose homes are not normal, happy, and good, is very great; and it is one in which I hope thatt the College will play a valiant part. Not only has it to persuade Governments and the public of the need for these scholarships, but it has to open its own doors wide to these State scholars as soon as they exist, showing thereby its desire to place its education at the service of the community and to exclude no boy in real need of it.

It can do more on parallel lines. It can try to persuade the bigger States of the E.S.A. to adopt the same enlightened policy and to help some of their boys who are in real need to enter the College; and it can approach big firms in North East India, such as the Tata Iron and Steel Company, with a view to their helping in the same way some of their employees who can show special reasons why their sons need a boarding-school education that they cannot afford.

It is also desirable, from the public service point of view, though of less vital importance, thatt several members of the Staff should interest themselves in public affairs and educational activities outside the college. For one instance, there would be much to be said in favour of the Bursar's being a member of the Raipur Municipal Committee. One or two senior masters ought to welcome membership of the Nagpur University Academic Council and C.P. High School Board, if it is offered

to them. The College Staff ought to be represented at Educational Conferences and Congresses that are held not too far away, even if little good seems to come out of them; some of its members should write on educational and literary subjects in the Press and magazines; the boys of the College should exhibit at Art Exhibitions and compete at Music Conferences as well as at athletic meetings.

Interchanges of teachers with other schools, or, better perhaps, frequent short visits by teachers from other schools to the College and by College teachers to their schools are another very valuable way both of keeping in the main stream of national education and of widening teachers' experience and outlook.

The purpose behind all the suggestions in the foregoing pages seems to me so important thatt it can stand repetition.

It seems to me not enough thatt the College shall, in fact, be rendering educational service of national importance; it must also be widely recognized to be doing so. The first main aim of the College during the next generation must be to render that service and to secure that recognition by all legitimate means.

**Expansion.**

That aim can never be realized unless the College expands. Expansion is the keystone of the arch where-through gleams brightly the future of the College. Without it there will be no future to view, only a blank wall and a dead end.

It is not necessary to labour this point because it is well known to those who know the College and fairly obvious even to those who do not.

A school of 70 boys of whom the youngest is 7 and the oldest 18 is neither a sound educational nor a sound economic unit. There is not enough money coming from fees to pay for everything that a good school wants. The same staff could handle nearly twice as many boys. There are not enough of the latter to justify the variety of courses and activities that a school ought to offer. Owing to the small numbers of boys of an age, each age-group is too much compelled to do the same things. One glaring example of the handicap of small numbers is the lack of any post-certificate classes. Though there are overwhelmingly strong educational reasons for providing for Higher Certificate or other advanced studies, the Committee has been fully justified so far in refusing to sanction the cost, because there are not enough boys to enable such higher classes to pay their way.

I think I can safely assume thatt no one concerned with the College needs convincing thatt it must expand; so I pass on to the questions of the extent of, plans for, and provisions necessary to meet, this expansion.

The extent of the first expansion should be up to 100 boys; but I hope thatt, later on, this figure can be raised to 150. 100 is the obvious first target, because the existing dormitories will not hold more than that number; 24 boys on each floor of Balram Das house, 24 on the ground floor of Rajendra Das house and 28 upstairs. I should not myself approve of turning any of the four big play rooms into extra dormitories; and to board out boys in staff houses might be a legitimate temporary, but not a suitable permanent, arrangement if numbers rose over 100. The existing classrooms will hold 100 boys comfortably, so thatt the essential building programme will be confined to an Assembly Hall, to be known as the Stow Hall, a dining room with offices, and modern sanitation in both boarding-houses. The present Hall can then be used as the Library and reading room. The present library will make an excellent Staff Common Room; and then all the down stair rooms in Balram Das house will become available for use as dormitories.

The money for the Stow Hall has already been collected under the name of the Golden Jubilee Fund. The College should in my opinion pay out of its own capital for the Dining Hall, as it will be built to enable the College to provide dormitories for 24 more boys whose fees will increase the College income by some Rs. 17,000 a year. The construction, therefore, would be a most remunerative investment and would involve no appeal for funds from outside the College. Even with only 70 boys in the College, the present sanitation of both boarding-houses can be considered as up to only second-class standard. The existing bath rooms and lavatories will not be large enough, nor efficient enough, for a hundred boys. Therefore, the installation of modern sanitation in both boarding-houses must be considered an essential provision.

The above is, I believe, the only essential construction required by an expansion of numbers to 100; but it would be wise, if not essential, to add two wards to the hospital large enough to take four beds each, and to build a house for the housemaster of Rajendra Das house to the West of that building on the site of the old 'morning-parade' ground. He lives at present too far from his charge and there is no existing master's house much nearer; and the accommodation in the present hospital might not suffice for 100 boys. Neither of these two buildings, however, would be very expensive in time of peace; and both, like the Dining Hall, are legitimate charges on the capital of the College.

As this chapter is being written, the preliminary plans and estimates of the Dining and Stow Halls are being prepared by an architect, for there is no controversy over the site, which chooses itself. They both must be close to the centre of the Main Building and, therefore,

must be sited on the open ground to the south of it, between it and the northern-most row of kitchens and storerooms. It seems to me thatt the Stow Hall should be in daily use, and not kept as a 'holy of holies' for functions. Most boys will keep their books there, do their homework in it, and, no doubt, play the fool there in their spare time. It will also be wanted for Assembly, lectures, cinema-shows, and for concerts and acting that cannot take place out of doors. With 100 boys in the two boarding-houses a large room is essential for these purposes. The existing Hall would be, already is even for 70 boys, much too small.

I think thatt I have shown that the building programme for 100 boys would be neither a difficult, nor a very expensive undertaking. As I have already said, the capital would be sunk in a first-class investment.

Expansion from 100 to 150 boys, the second step, would be much more expensive, because it would necessitate the building of a new boarding-house for 50 boys. There would also have to be some more classrooms and a new Art Room. The existing ones, at a pinch, might hold 150 boys (except the Art Room), if the Stow Hall was also used for classes and if the number of classes in the College remained the same as now. But if, by the time thatt numbers had risen over 100, the College had opened no new post-certificate classes, which would need class rooms of their own of course, a serious mistake would probably have been made. I assume, therefore, thatt expansion from 100 to 150 boys will require a new boarding-house for 50 boys, a new classroom block for Higher Certificate or similar advanced studies and for the teaching of Art, and *perhaps* one or two new masters' houses.

Where these will be sited, if they are ever built, it is much harder to prophesy; but perhaps a guess from me may be of interest. It seems to me thatt a permanent use must be found for the largish house that used to be occupied by a Vice-Principal. A properly designed school boarding-house ought to have very close to it a house for the housemaster and his family. It would save a good sum of money if the housemaster of the new boarding-house lived in the Vice-Principal's house. It is large enough to house comfortably not only his family but a bachelor house-tutor as well. If that house is eventually used for this purpose, the new boarding-house's site must be close to it.

The new classroom block would have to be situated near the Main Building, and there seems to be only one suitable site available there, namely of the 'old' tennis courts.

This Higher Certificate block, to give it a label, must contain not only classrooms but a studyroom and library for the use of these advanced students. These rooms should form their private domain; but I am not

at all in favour of allowing post-certificate students to regard themselves as a 'class apart' and to lodge, live, play, and feed, away from the rest of the school. They will be boys mostly between the ages of 16 and 18, the very ones from among whom the leaders of the school should be selected. They cannot perform their prefectorial duties and obtain that very valuable training in leadership, unless they live amongst their juniors. They should be content to have no more privacy in the boarding-houses than the usual 'privilege room' and set leaders' bed-rooms. It is my opinion thatt boarding-schools in India that have given advanced students more privacy than is given to them in English schools have made a mistake.

It would save both space and money to include the new Art School in the Higher Certificate Block by making it a building of two storeys. I imagine thatt the best arrangement would be to provide rooms for drawing, painting, modelling and hand-work on the ground floor, and to reserve the first floor for the Higher Certificate students. If this arrangement is carried out, the tennis-court site will enable the Art Rooms to have a clear view to the north. The present Art Room would not be at all satisfactory even for a hundred boys and would be much too small for a school containing more than that number.

This building programme will cost much money, and it will have to be spent before, not after, the numbers rise much over 100. It will require nice judgment to decide when the prospect of getting more boys is sufficiently good to justify a large outlay before they actually arrive. There is bound to be an element of risk in undertaking the project, but a faith in their futures and the courage to run risks for that faith have been the main characteristics of successful private enterprises all over the world in all periods of history.

It will be a project thatt the College ought to finance from its own funds or by means of a Bank loan, in my opinion; and not one that it should ask the help of benefactors to finance. If it succeeds, so thatt numbers eventually rise to 150, the increase in school fees will more than compensate the College for its outlay. It is not possible to formulate any definite rule when a school should, and should not, ask supporters for financial help; but I think thatt, when a school wants to build so as to provide accommodation for more boys, it is seldom justified in issuing an appeal for funds. On the other hand, a school aiming high can always put donations to very good use. Money given to education is one of the most wisely dispensed forms of charity, and rich men in India will be rendering most valuable public service by giving generously to schools and colleges. I hope thatt the

College of the future will continue to enjoy the very generous financial support that it has received from benefactors in the past; and that, for example, they will come to follow a practice common in other countries and 'remember the College in their wills', if not in their lives.

I have gone to some length to indicate what I think the College should do in order to receive an increased number of boys. Now, the questions where the boys are to come from and how they are to be induced to enter the College must be discussed.

Advertisements, illustrated prospectuses, canvassing, recruiting tours, and every other form of publicity, are the outward signs of a struggling, not yet successful, school. I do not mean that this publicity does no good, but that no school ever kept its places filled for long only by propaganda, however clever. The reputation of a school is spread and maintained by the parents of its boys, by its Old Boys, and by their success in putting their education to good account in their post-school lives. The opinion of his school held by a boy in it is also valuable, provided that those who hear it understand boys. It must not be believed too literally. It will not go very far nor look very deep. But boys are shrewd judges of what is in close contact with them, and they are very well worth listening to on the subject of the school staff by those who understand their cipher; who understand, for example, that the sentence, 'My master is a beast' and then, after a pause, 'but a just beast', is a very high tribute to that master.

Because the really vital concern of a school is what its parents and Old Boys say about it and what the latter are doing in the world, the school that wants to expand must make itself really good in every conceivable way. Good examination results are only one way and by no means the most important one. It must also be very actively concerned in guiding its Old Boys into good, useful, careers.

This amounts to saying that the three main tasks of the College that I defined at the beginning of this chapter are but three aspects of one task. No one of them can be accomplished unless the other two are also. The College will never get enough boys to expand its numbers to 150 or even to 100, unless its Old Boys get good appointments, its parents are well satisfied with the education that their sons get, and the latter concede that the College, though 'an awful hole', might be worse! When later in this chapter I come to discuss steps that might be taken to raise the standard of the College education, it should be remembered that one reason for raising it is that the higher the standard reached, the more the boys who come.

The College has two main recruiting grounds; one, the States of

the E.S.A. and the Zamindaries of the C.P., Bihar, and Orissa; the other, the whole of British North-East India.

It will be convenient in the following paragraphs to call the boys in the first of these recruiting grounds kumars; those in the second, 'other boys'.

How many kumars can the College hope to have at any one time during the next generation?

There are at the time of writing 38 kumars in the College, and I know of about 12 others who might have come but have not. This is a very limited recruiting ground. The number of families in a State of the E.S.A. that can afford to send a son to the College is small; many of these States and most of the Zamindaries are backward, out-of-the-way areas. They already know, none better, what the College has to offer; but only 38 boys from them at present take advantage of it. I am inclined to think thatt, however successfully the College expands in future, it is unlikely to have at any one time more than fifty kumars on the roll, even though it will always, I hope, give preference to a kumar seeking admission. What may upset this estimate is a big change in the constitution and development of these States and Zamindaries that cannot now be counted upon. If communications open up the now isolated areas; if industrial development takes place in them, and their mineral wealth is exploited, for instance the coal in the Bilaspur Zamindaries; if small uneconomic States become part of British India or of large neighbouring States; if a group of states succeeds in forming a joint administration financially strong enough, and administratively efficient enough, to raise the standard of living in the group appreciably; if the inefficient and improvident zamindar is no longer protected—by a Court of Wards—and has to pay for his folly and extravagance by selling his property to someone more progressive and capable: if changes like these occur, a new situation will arise and areas where there are now no or few boys for the College may be able to send many. Then my estimate of fifty will have to be revised upwards. But, while things are as they are, I do not believe thatt the College can expect to expand by looking for many more kumars. It has, therefore, to concentrate on attracting 'other boys;' probably as many as 100, if it is ever to expand to 150. At the time of writing 'other boys' number only 34!

There are two main recruiting grounds that the College should try to cultivate, Jamshedpur and Nagpur. Calcutta is an obvious third, but it contains many schools; and it has been my experience thatt Bengali parents are very loth to believe thatt their sons might get a better education in the Central Provinces!

Besides doing its utmost to secure thatt boys coming to the College from those areas are good advertisements for it, what else can the College do to develop Jamshedpur and Nagpur and other large well-placed towns into rich recruiting grounds?

I have long felt thatt the College needs 'feeder' schools for small boys. I was, therefore, gratified thatt the Inspectors of the College in August 1944 came to the same conclusion, especially as I, being then on leave, did not meet them and, therefore, had no opportunity of putting the idea into their heads. I hope thatt the next twenty-five years will see 'feeder' schools started at least in Jamshedpur and Nagpur; later on perhaps also in Jubbulpore and Waltair. I have a special plan for the Jamshedpur school that I shall outline later on, but before doing so I should like to sketch the plan for a feeder-school at Nagpur.

It would cater for children between the ages of about 5 to 9, and could be co-educational so long as boys had first claim to vacant places. It would normally be a day-school. The staff would consist almost entirely of women, trained in Montessori, Froebel, or other Kindergarten, methods of educating this age-group. There could be no insistence thatt a boy on leaving this school must enter the College, but his parents should be persuaded in every legitimate way to consider sending him to it; and it might be wise for the College to offer a small reduction of fees to boys from feeder-schools, as it would be admitting boys likely to do well, thanks to the nursery-education that they had received in them. It is unlikely thatt a suitable headmistress of such a school could be found who had sufficient capital to open it. Therefore, the main assistance of the College to a feeder-school should be financial. For many years the College has been investing a large part of its capital in land-mortgages earning about 5 per cent p.a. Owing to the profits made by agriculturists out of the war, these loans are now being rapidly repaid. I suggest thatt it should cease this business and, in future, invest these large funds in education instead, even if it did not earn as much as 5 per cent on this class of investment. It would be a far better and more appropriate use of capital to open schools that may be expected to send well-prepared boys to the College than to bolster up indebted estates. It seems as certain as any future event can be thatt there will be a tremendous educational 'drive' in India during the next twenty-five years, so a project to open 'nursery schools' (of which India has very few indeed) during this period would probably be highly popular and successful. The project would obviously rank as an act of public service and help in securing wider recognition of the College as an institution of public value, an achievement of which I have already emphasized the extreme importance earlier in this chapter.

If the College lent money at low interest to help to start a nursery-school, it would have to be a condition of the loan thatt it had a big voice in the management so long as the loan remained unrepaid. On the other hand, it would be essential to give the headmistress a very free hand in running her school. How both objects are to be simultaneously secured may seem a problem 'pregnant with friction;' but I think thatt the details of an arrangement satisfactory to both parties could be worked out. Several members of the College Council are now very experienced in the business of running a school, so thatt from them and the staff of the College itself it ought to be easy to choose a small number of representatives who would know both what they must do to take care of the College investment and what they must *not* do, if they want the school to flourish under a good head-mistress.

At Jamshedpur I hope thatt something different and more ambitious may be established. The school there would also be a feeder-school, giving nursery-education to small boys, many of whom would probably come on to the College; but that would be its secondary function only. Its prime one would be to provide a really good general education for girls, both boarders and day-girls; only its nursery classes would also admit boys.

Jamshedpur is alive with educational opportunity for the College. It has easy communication with Raipur; it is conveniently placed for many states of the E.S.A. and homes in South Bihar and Orissa; it has better 'public utilities', electricity, water, sanitation and other amenities than any town within 500 miles of itself; it contains a large number of 'good' parents able and willing to spend money on the education of their sons and daughters; and, so far as I have been able to ascertain, it does not at present possess anything that can be classed as a first-class girls' school. Indeed, most parents there, who can afford, at present send even their sons away to 'hill' schools. One of the tasks of the College is to persuade these parents in future to educate their girls in Jamshedpur, their boys at Raipur.

It may seem irrelevant in a book of this kind to say much more on the subject of opening a girls' school, but things are not always what they seem. There are many, to me overwhelmingly important, reasons why the College should do all it can to establish a first-class school for girls. On this point also the College Inspectors of 1944 strongly agreed with me in spite of my absence.

The first reason has been explained already and so need be only mentioned here. If it is important thatt the Old Boys of the College should cut a good figure in the world, an essential first step is to give their mothers, sisters, and future wives, a good education. The second

may be thought an unpleasantly worldly reason, but money is the main commodity needed by those setting out to establish a good school. It ought to be a first-class investment to devote College funds to such a purpose, because really good girls' schools are extremely rare and the Jamshedpur school, if it is good (which means money) will very quickly be able to fill all the places it decides to provide over and over again, and so will very soon begin to pay its own way. There is, however, the possibility thatt, if the school is located at Jamshedpur, it will have no need of a loan from the College. The Tata Iron and Steel Company is a very wealthy and progressive organization. It is quite possible thatt it may decide itself to finance a school of this kind in Jamshedpur. The College will have no cause for regret if it does. It matters little who finances it so long as someone does, in whom parents would repose confidence. Anyway, the College should offer to help in getting the school started, if the Company would welcome such help. Thirdly, anything that the College could do to establish such a school would be a legitimate and first-class advertisement for it. A school can become well known through the mouths of mothers and daughters as easily as through those of fathers and sons. This girls' boarding-school, one of the first of its kind in this part of India, would attract much attention. Many boys would be sent to the College in due course, because their mothers and sisters appreciated the education that they themselves had received in a school with which the College was closely connected.

The most important reason is kept to the last. The girls of the upper and middle classes in India are desperately needed for public service. To help to get them rightly educated for that work would be an act of supremely valuable public service. This is an extremely delicate and perilous subject for anyone, especially a foreigner, to write about. Nothing that I am going to say is meant to imply any criticism or disparagement of Indian women. It really ought not to be necessary for me to say that; it ought to be obvious thatt I should ruin whatever merit this chapter may have by even a hint of disapproval; but Indian sentiment is so sensitive thatt I have thought it prudent to prefix this assurance. It seems to me, after over 25 years of residence in India, thatt the education of girls (particularly girls of good families) is one of the most mishandled things in the country. Even if I assume—an assumption that some people would not grant—thatt these girls all get something that can be called education, I must add thatt hardly any of them at present get the education that their motherland cries out for them to get. Most of them get only education for marriage. The reconstruction of India; her nation-building programmes; her health, welfare, and happiness; her bright Swadeshi future; for work of this kind, education

for marriage, if it be for marriage only, is not nearly enough. India cannot live by man alone; it is the women equally with the men who have got to build up a better and brighter land; and in the vast field of the social services, the women have far more to do than the men.

To fit Indian women to do as valuable work outside their homes as they at present do in them, *neglecting neither*, is a perfectly practicable task of education—but not of the education that they receive at present. There are, of course, notable exceptions; Indian women, who in spite of, not because of, the typical feminine education of the country, greatly distinguish themselves in the public service. But most Indian girls of the upper and middle classes are neither educated nor encouraged to do outside work. The result is thatt, whereas in other countries women are found in very large numbers teaching, nursing, doctoring, and performing all those other gentle services for other people and other people's children that a woman can perform always as well as, often much better than, a man can, in India very few women, comparatively speaking, offer themselves for this vitally important national work.

In my very humble opinion, India must have their services. The men cannot do all this woman's work and their own as well. I, therefore, come to the conclusion thatt anyone or any Body that can, yet neglects to, establish a school for Indian girls that will train them *both* to be good house-wives and mothers *and* to serve their country wherever they are, is very nearly a traitor to India! Given the right education, I am sure thatt these girls can play a noble part; if they are denied it, India will deserve and receive a back seat amongst nations. It is not only in time of war thatt there is national service for women to render.

I do not think thatt this is the place to go into any details concerning the organization of this girls' school, so I shall confine myself to two observations only. One is thatt the College is very fortunate in having as the wife of my successor a lady with very great experience of the education of Indian girls. The other is thatt, if the school were started on the strength of a loan from the College, it would be a reasonable condition thatt Rajkumaris of the right age should have first claim on vacant places.

If these feeder-schools become successfully established, I think thatt the College would be wise gradually to raise its minimum age of admission to 10 or even 11. It may prove impossible to take this step for some time, as expansion, not reduction, of numbers is a main present aim. But, when numbers can be maintained in spite of the change, it will, I think, be a very good one to make. A boy coming to the College at 8 and staying for two years after his School Certificate has spent at least ten years in one environment, which is too long.

Post-Certificate classes will be more popular if boys are older at first admission. Moreover, boys under 11 need special and peculiar attention with the result thatt a larger staff is needed by a school of 150 boys aged 8 to 16 than by one of the same size aged 10 to 18.

Other programmes have been mentioned earlier in this chapter, in connection with preparation for careers and with the public service that the College can render to the community, which, if successfully executed, will result in an expansion of numbers. One was the opening of post-certificate classes specializing in Mathematics and the Sciences; another, the institution of a course for young Rulers and landowners in administration. A third was the provision of an Army class for boys aiming at a career in one of the Defence Services. A self-governing India is bound to need officers for those services and, even while this chapter was being written, it was announced in the Press thatt Government had appointed a Committee to report on the establishment of a Military Academy, on the lines of West Point in the U.S.A., and on the desirability of having feeder-schools for it. If the College can secure recognition as one of those schools, it ought to be able to play its part successfully and, while doing so, considerably to expand its numbers. If one condition of recognition was the formation of an Officers' Training Platoon or Company, open to military inspection, that would be a condition to accept with alacrity.

Considerable expansion would also result from recognition, by the Central, Provincial, and State Governments and by large private concerns philanthropically inclined, thatt there are many children who have a real need of boarding-school education but cannot afford it. Anyone who studies the Fleming Report can hardly fail to recognize thatt a great number of Indian children need and cannot afford such education. The struggle will probably occur over the question whether these children should be helped by public funds to get what it has been conceded thatt they need. They will be asking for money at a time when a large number of other very worthy projects are clamouring for funds. I have already said thatt the College should offer to admit these 'State' scholars and should do all it can to persuade Governments to provide scholarships. It is worth nothing in passing thatt independent schools in England (similar to the College in status) are being asked to reserve, to begin with, 25 per cent of all their vacant places for similar State scholars.

The last thing that I have to say on the subject of expansion concerns the Old Boys' Association of the College. If its members come to feel thatt the main object of the Association is to help the College, and they organize themselves to achieve that object, the Association can

obviously greatly help the College not only to expand, but to prosper in many other ways. It is greatly to be hoped thatt a number of Old Boys of the future will be attracted by the idea of developing their Association into a Body taking close interest in, and rendering valuable service to, the College.

The objects of an Old Boys' Association are four; to share through its representatives in the management of the school, to secure boys of the right type for admission, to raise funds from time to time which can be devoted to the development of the school, and to perform some functions of a social club, so that Old Boys have opportunities of continuing the friendships that they made at the school. The success of such an Association depends on the existence of a number of Old Boys who take a genuine interest in the promotion of these four objects and who regard their appointments as office-bearers as a responsibility to work actively for the good of the Association and the school. Only the Old Boys themselves can organize their association, and it would be presumptuous of me to try to teach them their business. I hope, however, thatt I may be allowed to suggest, without offence, thatt no paper-organization will achieve anything, unless the office-bearers chosen are prepared to do regular, and in the beginning a large amount of, voluntary work.

**Efficiency.**

I now come to the third main task of the College; the raising of the standard of its education to a really high level.

To raise the standard requires, first and foremost, a good staff, so I start this section with some observations on the future staff of the College.

It should, I think, be accepted by the Committee as a principle thatt, if the College prospers, the staff will share in that prosperity. This principle might be applied thus. At the end of each financial year that closes with a surplus, a certain percentage of it might be paid into a Staff Salary Fund. When it is large enough, the maximum of the present ordinary Class I grade, Rs. 285, should be raised to a higher figure and the extra expenditure should be met by annual withdrawals from the fund. In the same way, an improvement of the selection grades can be financed later, and of the grades of the subordinate staff. The ultimate aim should be to pay as good salaries to the whole staff as any other school in India does.

The better the conditions of service of the staff become, the better qualified and experienced its members must be. I have a great hope thatt, after the war is over, it will be possible to arrange an annual

interchange of teachers between English and Indian schools. It would be of enormous benefit to the College and its staff, if one master could work in an English boarding-school for a year while a master from England was filling his place at the College. Such an arrangement is not merely a Utopian dream; it is one that the College will almost certainly be able to make in the future, if it likes. But for the war, the first College master would in all probability have gone to England in 1945. It is an arrangement that, I am sure, the College will eagerly accept.

In addition to any English masters who may serve the College for short periods under this interchange-scheme, I think thatt the College will have to employ one Englishman permanently on the staff to teach English. There is much to be said in favour of having a trained English mistress also to teach English to the junior classes, but there are many difficulties over providing in Raipur even the minimum living conditions and amenities that would satisfy an Englishwoman living alone. The ideal engagement would be that of a man and wife both qualified and willing to teach English one full, the other part-time.

I am not one who thinks thatt English will come to be studied in Indian secondary schools only as the most important 'second language'; in a school like the College the boys should be as completely bilingual as children in Welsh or South African or many schools in Europe are. Indeed, they should be trilingual in speech and comprehension, able to speak and understand their mother-tongues, English and Hindustani equally well, though able to read and write only two.

People who advocate a common Indian language for India are doing a great disservice to their country, if by this advocacy they lead people to think thatt there will be less need in future of English-speaking Indians. They can be proved wrong by reference to many countries in the world, if they contend thatt it is too much to expect any child to become bi- or tri-lingual.

All children in India need not learn English of course; but, as a rough and ready guide, every child considered fit for academic study after the age of 14 should by that age have attained considerable proficiency in two languages, one of them English. In a school like the College aiming at a still higher standard, a boy of 14 should be not merely proficient but completely bilingual. I am of course wide open to the attack thatt I lay this great stress on the importance of English for all boys aiming at careers of good status, because it is my own mother-tongue and because, as an Englishman, I wish to keep India tied to England. Those who made such an attack would not

believe any disclaimer, but I think thatt there are many Indians who will agree with the following reasons for my emphasis. English is the great international language of the world. No Indian language serves a man for a minute anywhere outside India. An Indian who neglects English cuts himself off from the world. Everything worth reading is published sooner rather than later in English. No army of translators in India could ever keep pace with the speed of the world's output of thought expressed or printed in English. All 'higher' Indian students must, therefore, know English, not merely as well as they now do, but a great deal better.

Schoolmasters and parents have been very slow, I consider, to fathom the secret of making a child bilingual. Many of us know thatt, if a child of 4 or 5 is placed for 3 or 4 years in an environment where it hears two languages constantly spoken, it will by the age of 8 or 9 be able to speak fluently and understand both, though it has received no formal instruction in either. If, however, up to the latter age, it has lived in an environment where only one language is spoken, that language will by then be dominant, and of its own accord the child will learn no other, unless we create some extremely abnormal situation in which the unfortunate child speaking, say, Oriya is transported to Madras where even its parents conspire thatt it hears nothing but Tamil. In normal circumstances a unilingual child of 8 starting to learn a second language will gain considerable proficiency in it, only if well taught over several years, and will rarely pronounce that language as perfectly as it would have done, if it had picked it up for itself from the age of 4.

The lessons I deduce from these observations are thatt a very young child can learn two languages with no strain at all, provided thatt it lives in an environment where it hears both spoken constantly; thatt the older it is when it starts to learn a second language, the more effort is required both from it and its teachers; and thatt learning to read and write a language are steps that should be taken after, perhaps long after, a child has learned to speak and understand.

What has been said above applies also to trilingualism. It is by no means difficult for young children to understand and be understood in three languages, provided thatt they hear all three constantly spoken round them. If the future India decides thatt Hindustani is to be the common Indian language, a school like the College where most boys speak Hindi, should have little difficulty in securing thatt all its senior boys can speak and understand Hindustani well besides being bilingual in English and their mother-tongues, provided thatt a parent does not allow his son to remain unilingual until his age of admission. It is

the parent, not the school, who is mainly responsible for his son's proficiency in languages. It depends to a very large extent on the boy's experience of languages between the ages of 3 and 8.

The origin of this digression was the attitude thatt the College should adopt in future towards English and the methods used to teach it. It makes clear, I think, why I say thatt the teachers of English in the College must be either English men and women or Indian masters and mistresses who are perfectly bilingual and extremely good teachers; also why I hold thatt the College boy must start learning English from the date of admission, however young he be; and thatt his medium of instruction must be English, except, of course, while learning his mother-tongue. There is no desire to belittle the importance of the latter, but it is essential to give the boy a thorough soaking in both languages. At his home in his vacations and in his spare time at the College he should speak and hear mainly his mother-tongue and Hindustani; therefore, if he is ever to become bi- or tri-lingual, he must hear and speak English not only during English lessons but in nearly all class hours. It is much less essential thatt he does all his written work in English.

The parent who realizes the value of his chilren being able to speak two or three languages in a country like India can greatly help them and their future schools by creating a home-environment for his children from the age of 3 or 4 in which they will unconsciously and without effort learn for themselves. In a country where language-problems are so difficult and important to overcome, it is almost a serious mistake for a parent who wants his child to get a good education to have had it taught only its mother-tongue by the age of 8.

A really good standard in a boy's mother-tongue as well as in English is attainable. During the last six years the Indian Public Schools Conference has done much to raise the standard of Indian classical and modern language teaching in its schools, and that high standard must be maintained. The word 'bilingualism' has been used in the foregoing pages, because it implies thatt neither language must be sacrificed to the other.

I now return to the subject of the efficiency of the College Staff. I have already in another context noted the importance of masters' developing outside interests, establishing contact with other schools and teachers, visiting and being visited by them. There will be always the danger, in a school like the College, of the attitude, 'Thank God, the College is not like other schools and we not like other teachers'. It is a poisonous attitude and must be fought tooth and nail.

The staff also has to be continually widening its outlook and experience. The Committee in 1943 very wisely offered any master,

wanting to travel during the summer vacation for the purpose of widening his outlook, a grant of Rs. 466 towards his expenses. Since 1943, such travel has been impossible owing to the war; but I very much hope thatt, after it is over, a master will be travelling annually with this financial help to countries within two months' reach of Raipur. If, as it certainly is, travel is an education, it is one thatt the College staff as well as the boys ought to enjoy.

The foregoing pages have outlined mainly what should be done for the staff. I have also some observations to make on what should be expected from it.

The College must provide no anchorage for mediocrity. So long as the Committee genuinely tries to provide the best possible conditions of service, a master's claim to retain his post ought to rest on positive, not negative, grounds. I strongly recommend, as the criterion, 'What valuable contribution is this master making', rather than 'What can it be proved that he has failed to do'. Many are the school-reports that I have read in which masters have written thatt a boy has done just enough work to keep out of trouble. A school staff is not satisfied with such boys: nor should a school Management be with such masters.

It will be a very important task of the Committee to strike the right balance on this question of staff security of tenure. It would be a fatal mistake to give the staff good cause for fearing thatt its members would not get a 'square deal'; especially thatt someone who had done good work might nevertheless be got rid of for reasons of opportunism. On the other hand, the Committee would, in my opinion, be making an equally fatal mistake to grant any greater security of tenure than the staff at present enjoys. If a school Management binds itself not to terminate the services of any master, unless it can prove misconduct or negligence against him, it will find itself often in trouble. My experience has been thatt there occur cases where such charges can undoubtedly be proved, but the publicity resulting from proof in court would be most harmful to the school. In other cases, the Management may know beyond all reasonable doubt thatt a member of the staff is an undesirable person to retain in service, but be unable to justify dismissal for misconduct to the satisfacion of a court of law. Again cases occur—and these are the most perplexing and regrettable—where the interest of the school conflicts with that of a member of the staff. Strong honest reasons are accepted for some change in the curriculum that necessitates the replacement of a master by another with different qualifications. Such a case fortunately is rare, but when it does occur, the Management must be free to put the interest of the school first.

My belief is thatt the only security worth having is what a man

earns for himself by his work. If that is good, his employer will know it as well as he; and if in spite of that knowledge the employer does not treat him fairly, the man is to be congratulated, rather than commiserated with, on leaving that employer's service. A good master in a well managed school has nothing to fear even if he has no 'paper-security' at all.

To sum up these remarks, I hope thatt the policy of the Committee regarding the staff will be to provide the best possible conditions of service, the utmost help and encouragement to secure better posts elsewhere to all who want and deserve them, and the minimum of paper-security of service.

The relationship between the members of the College Council and the members of the staff is too important a topic to say nothing about; yet it is a very delicate one on which to have to write. Very great harm can be done to a school when members of the Council and the staff have more than ordinary social intercourse; when, for instances, members of the Council endeavour to collect ammunition for some Council project of theirs by privately enlisting the help of some members of the staff; or when the latter are disloyal to their colleagues, or air grievances to some members of the Council, or try to influence them in favour of a project of their own. The staff should have its own organization through which it should be able to make its voice heard when business of concern to it is being discussed; and it should be made to feel thatt its views, thus constitutionally expressed, will be given careful consideration. But nothing can be worse for a school, if it is to prosper, than thatt the business of Council and Committee meetings should be discussed privately, either before or afterwards, by members of those Bodies with their personal friends on the staff. Council and Committee have to keep faith with the Principal, their chief executive officer; and he with them. If they lose faith in him, they should replace him. He is bound to carry out their policy and instructions once framed; if, before framing it, they prefer to consult the Principal's subordinates without his knowledge, they can hope to retain as Principal only the type of man who will tolerate the intolerable.

So much has had to be said about the staff because it, more than anything else in the College, can make or break it. In the course of my remarks I referred to the teaching of English, because to teach that efficiently in the College will necessitate some strengthening of the staff. I do not propose to say anything substantial about improving the teaching of other subjects, because efforts in that direction are in a school more or less 'daily routine', whereas I am trying to fry bigger

fish in this chapter. Before passing on to hook my next one, however, I should like to note without commenting thatt the teaching of History, next to that of English, most needs modernizing at present (a task that my successor is admirably qualified to undertake); and thatt plans will have to be thought out to enable boys in the higher classes, especially the post-matriculation ones, to be made much more educationally aware of countries bordering India, for instance, Soviet Asia, China, Iran, and the East Indies. Intercourse between them and India will be of increasing importance in future. Earlier in this chapter I have strongly recommended development of the teaching of the sciences in the College.

I can, therefore, now pass on to something else, second only in importance to the possession of a first-class staff, that the College must possess if its education is to stand comparison with that of any school; namely post-matriculation classes. The present absence of these is the most obvious and serious respect in which its education falls short of a first-class standard. To express the defect in English educational language, the College does no 'Sixth Form' work, and in England that is considered the most valuable work that a good secondary school does. It would weary the reader unnecessarily to discuss again all the arguments in favour of post-matriculation classes, because much has already been written about them earlier in this book. On the other hand, as the standard of education cannot be sufficiently raised without opening them, the subject must be given some space in this part of this chapter. I propose to compromise by briefly recapitulating what has already been said elsewhere.

In a school of good academic standard the average boy should matriculate or secure his school certificate at 15 or 16. Not only is he then too young to enter a University, but it is during his 17th and 18th years thatt his school can do him most good; can, as it were, complete on the foundations already laid a house that will stand up in all weathers. It is then thatt boys should receive their main training in leadership, in learning to study for themselves, in specializing in those subjects suited to the careers they are aiming at, in learning in a practical way the meaning of privileges, responsibilities, and disciplined freedom. Many parents have still to learn thatt a boy should leave school at an age, not at an examination; and thatt education is not a race, first prize in which goes to the boy who graduates at the youngest age. Unless the financial position of the parents makes it imperative thatt the son starts to earn at the earliest possible moment, there ought to be far less parental worry about when a boy graduates or qualifies, and much more care to see thatt, when he does so, he really knows some

useful things and has not been successful merely by the help of cram methods and examination-dodges.

The present Intermediate courses of Indian Universities rightly meet with wide-spread criticism. Delhi University is already offering a three-year degree course to students who are expected on admission to have reached a standard one year higher than the present matriculation standard. I hope thatt other Universities will follow suit and abolish their Intermediate courses; but the essential reforms are, no admission to a University before the age of 17, and a much higher standard qualifying for admission. If a boy is so clever thatt he can reach this standard before he is 17, the school, not the University, should introduce him to more advanced work. The fact thatt in his first year or two as an undergraduate he may find thatt he has already done much of the work prescribed is no cause for head-shaking but for rejoicing. A student of that intellectual calibre is unlikely to waste his time or to see no need to read anything but the bare minimum of textbooks prescribed. He profits most by being left free to teach himself. His advanced work done at school will set him free to make real use of the University Library or Laboratories. It is only under such conditions thatt the really first-class student finds himself.

I now come to a subject that, the reader will notice with relief, has not been discussed earlier in this book. The College must not be afraid to conduct educational experiments, or, to give a more imposing name to them, practical researches into new ways of improving education. Research is as valuable to education as it is to industry or agriculture; and a country must have experimental schools in which it can be conducted. Schools like the College, unfettered by Education Codes and Manuals and in full control of their own funds, are the very places for the conduct of experiments. Such work harmonizes exactly with the three future tasks of the College that are the main theme of this chapter. Well planned and controlled educational experiment is real service to the education of the nation. If it succeeds, the education of the school is enriched by it. It attracts attention, leads to expansion, and gives publicity that is well deserved, when the experiment is a genuine attempt to break new educational ground and not merely a showy piece of window dressing. As has been said before, too much uniformity among schools is not desirable, and the first-class school probably always possesses some characteristics that distinguish it from others even of the same type and status.

The College has for some years been conducting one educational experiment with considerable success. I refer to the various activities of the Seva Society, through which many boys of the College in a

practical way have learnt the desirability of, and the pleasure to be got from, rendering help to those less fortunately placed in life. The activities of the College Seva Society are not to be found in many secondary schools, yet I feel sure thatt the education of the College has been greatly enriched by them. I think thatt the time has come when the activities of the Seva Society should be regarded as having passed beyond the stage of experiment and to have become a permanent part of the education given by the College.

Another experiment that the College attempted in the past but, I am sorry to say, failed to carry through, teaching by means of the Dalton system, would have a better chance of success, if now tried again, and would be a valuable piece of experimental work.

I have also earlier on suggested another promising experiment—the institution of a course in administration for young Rulers and landowners. I have yet another one to suggest, which would affect not one class of boy, but all.

Schools offering a relatively expensive education often meet with the criticism thatt they make their boys too soft, unwilling to dirty their hands and take their coats off, unselfreliant, unenterprising, unable to 'rough it' or 'to stand on their own legs'. Schools in England as well as in India have to face such criticism, and I daresay, schools in other countries also.

Some of these critics deplore thatt there are school servants, or thatt boys do not make their own beds, clean their own shoes and wait on each other at meals.

I am going to advance the view thatt in this criticism there is matter for a valuable piece of educational research and, therefore, I do not brush it aside as absurd. But before discussing that part of the criticism which stimulates me, I should like to indicate that part of it which strikes me as amateur.

No one who is sensible will deny thatt it is useful for a boy to know how to make his bed, look after his clothes, make out his washing list, clean his shoes and so on. But these are daily duties, they take time and each day contains only 24 hours. If boys have to do daily duties, they must be given time for them; and the question for the Head of a school, therefore, is *not* 'Are these good things for the boy to do?', but 'Is the boy better employed doing these things than other things?'. That question cannot be, in turn, answered, until the Head has considered from what sort of home his average boy comes, whether he has to do these things for himself at home, and whether he usually finds a career after leaving school in which he can or cannot afford a servant of his own. There is nothing soft or decadent about the person

who is so busy on what only he can do, thatt he employs a servant to do for him what a servant can do just as well. If the Head sees thatt his average boy comes from a home where all must lend a hand and thatt he usually starts off in a career where he has to look after himself, in that case he ought to regard it as essential thatt his boys are trained at school to manage for themselves, and should give time for that training by cutting time from other daily activities. If, however, he sees thatt his average boy will not have much need of this training at home and after he leaves, he has got a very good reason for employing school servants and setting his boys to other tasks likely to be more useful to them in the long run.

I hope thatt I have made it clear thatt it is over the *daily* task thatt I join issue with these critics. What a boy at school is made to do every day must be very important to be justifiable. In some schools it is justifiable to make the boys act as their own servants to a very large extent; in others, only to a much smaller extent.

If, however, the critics omit the word 'daily' and content themselves with the proposition thatt a place must be found in a good school-education for training in self-reliance and enterprise, in putting up with discomfort, in developing a spirit of adventure, I find myself in entire agreement with them even without looking at today's newspaper, which chances to print a very appropriate quotation from William James: 'Keep the faculty of effort alive in you by a little gratuitous effort every day. Every day do something for no other reason than its difficulty, so that if an hour of need should come, it may find you trained to stand the test'.

In Indian schools, in particular, it seems essential to develop this faculty of effort. The dislike of manual work by Indian students is notorious; it indicates a serious defect in their present education thatt in this war, to give one instance, the Royal Indian Air Force has had to complain thatt it cannot recruit enough young men of the right type to train as pilots, but at the same time has had to announce thatt it is receiving more applications for 'administrative duties' than it can entertain. The fact thatt public men are frequently having to make speeches of the type quoted below is another indication thatt there is something seriously deficient in the education given by Indian schools catering for boys aspire to 'officer-rank' when they grow up. Mr. B. N. Ray Chowdhury of Santosh, presiding at the annual meeting of the Bengali Ex-Services Association in May 1945, was reported in the Press to have emphasised thatt there was greater need for the right type of men to come forward for training as officers. Mr. Chowdhury said 'Hitherto the greatest obstacle towards the Indianization of the Army

had been the lack of our officer element. India has today an army of 2½ millions, but a commensurately small number of Indian officers to take up commands. As a civilian adviser to an officers' selection board, I can say from personal experience that throughout India these boards are endeavouring their utmost to help our young men in this direction, but I regret to say that the quality and quantity of candidates coming up before them are yet below standard. An officer should not only be superior to the soldier he will command, but must also be a leader in battle and capable of courage and initiative in the face of danger'. Mr. Chowdhury appealed to university authorities, educationists and leaders of public opinion to help in this 'patriotic work which transcends all others in weight and importance in the matter of our country's physical, moral and political regeneration'. Because criticisms like this are common, it is obviously of great importance for Indian secondary schools to make their students more daring, self-reliant, adventurous, and enterprising.

The educational research that I suggest thatt the College undertakes during its next twenty-five years, is one into the problem how not merely 'to keep alive' but strongly to develop this 'faculty of effort' in a school, this doing of difficult things solely because they are difficult that William James has written about. The problem is one of such national importance thatt, in my own opinion, it calls for experiment not only by a few schools in India, but by all. I am strongly in favour of every student, male and female, being compelled, before he is allowed to matriculate or graduate, to put in a year of national service, performing strenuous tasks of value to the nation under conditions where life is hard but healthy, and discipline firm but sensible.

How the College is to tackle this problem will be largely a matter of trial and error. The following suggestions have some value, because they relate to activities of the right type that have already been undertaken with success, but, so far, only on a small scale for a short time.

For some years now most of the boys in the College have done two to three hours of manual work a week on the farm and in the gardens and grounds. The amount of this might be increased and linked up with the work of the Seva Society by undertaking useful physical labour outside as well as inside the College grounds. The deplorable destruction of road-side trees all over Raipur in recent years calls loudly for some volunteers sufficiently imbued with public spirit to replant. There is a large amount of other suitable work in the villages near the College, suitable work in this context meaning work that both will benefit the public and may blister the hands of the workers!

Two or three years ago a useful and really enjoyable competition was held, while a nearby village pond was being deepened, to see whether the members of the staff could dig and transport to a short distance 1,000 cubic feet of earth in a shorter time than the boys could. The former won 'by a neck'. This was the kind of undertaking that is certainly worth repeating.

At one time groups of three or four boys were turned out of the College on a Saturday afternoon and expected to fend for themselves for 36 hours, without tents and cooking their own food. The experiment aroused some objections, because the senior boys of those days were not sufficiently trained to take proper charge of such parties. I think thatt now this experiment might be tried out again with much better hope of success, though there will always be certain practical difficulties confronting campers near Raipur, such as snakes, mosquitoes, and impure water, which they must be well trained in advance to overcome.

For two years running (till petrol rationing made the ride an impossibility) a party of boys cycled about 100 miles on their way home for the Christmas vacation instead of travelling by train or car. The College bus followed behind with luggage and food and to collect casualties. I think thatt everyone who took part thoroughly enjoyed those rides. William James would certainly have agreed, had he taken part, thatt they called for considerable effort. So did boxing which for this reason alone ought to be encouraged as a regular physical activity.

These are first experiments in how to develop a spirit of effort that have been tried out with some success. I suggest thatt there are also two experiments, not yet tried out, that are well worth a good trial; one perhaps at Diwali, the other towards the end of February annually.

The Diwali experiment might take the form of four or five-day walking-tours made by small parties of senior boys physically fit, each in charge of a master, to places of interest within reach. Each party would hope to use rest-houses for the night, but be prepared to sleep out, if they could not reach them. They would also be prepared to cook their own food; but I think thatt, being after all only boys, they might be allowed a bullock cart for their kit. There are many interesting trips that could be arranged; Balaghat to a manganese mine, Pendra Road to the source of the Nerbudda, Drug to Adamabad Headworks, Dhamtari to Marramsilli Reservoir, Anuppur to the Chirimiri coal-mines. I have little doubt thatt these walking tours, if the staff carefully reconnoitred the ground in advance, would both be popular and give some valuable training in the art of 'roughing it'. It might be found justifiable to give up a week of school-work in order to give senior boys such experiences.

The February experiment would consist not in their going out and leaving school behind, but in their going out and taking school with them. The experiment of an annual open-air session which the Vidya Bhawan School at Udaipur, Mewar, organizes, strikes me as one that many schools ought to make in order to reach an accurate assessment of its educational value.

All boys old and fit enough to stand the strain, with sufficient teachers for the project in view, would camp out for a week to ten days once a year, in order to complete some educational project and incidentally to receive the special training that life in camp gives. To make the idea more concrete to those who know Raipur district, let us suppose thatt an open-air session was arranged at Rudri, the headworks of the Mahanadi Irrigation System, and thatt the project was irrigation.

Classes would be held daily in camp in all, or nearly all, subjects; but the subject of each lesson would be related to the project, irrigation. For instances, Mathematics lessons would be devoted to problems concerning the flow and force of water and to calculations of what farmers have to pay to get their fields irrigated; Science lessons, to the physical apparatus in use at the headworks; Geography lessons, to the crops irrigated in the area under control; History lessons, to the history of famous irrigation works elsewhere in the world; Art lessons, to sketching in and round the Headworks. I am trying to outline the picture of a school working out of doors on the various aspects of one main theme, of which an actual example is before the boys' eyes on the spot. Such instruction, if well prepared by the staff beforehand, can be very stimulating for a short time; and it is probable thatt every boy who went to Rudri on such a project would remember a great deal about irrigation for a long time. This is the purely academic justification of open-air sessions.

But I feel thatt they could also prove very valuable in teaching endurance, self-reliance and the value of effort also; and in practising boys in camp-craft. I should expect them to undertake all the running of the camp and its sanitation. They would have sufficient time to make a good job of this, because the labours of camp-life would make it unnecessary to include the usual hours of games and exercise in the school-day, and because only 4 or 5 hours of classes with no homework would probably be all the daily instruction practicable. Only a few tents or the use of a rest-house would be needed for special purposes; the masters and boys would normally fix up their mosquito nets under the stars. Every boy in his turn would sweep, clean, wash up, dig, carry water, and so render it unnecessary to bring a single servant to camp except the actual cooking staff. I myself should take no risk over the

cooking of the food, because growing boys, especially when engaged in the exacting unaccustomed duties of running a camp, ought to get extra good and well cooked food.

There is, to me, a great attraction in this idea of an annual open-air session, and I hope thatt one day the College will be famous for its own.

But these experiments are foredoomed to failure, if there is no love of effort, enterprise, resourcefulness, nor cheerful willingness to put up with some discomfort among the members of the staff. In all these experiments, the staff has to take the lead and show the way, and if its members do not still glow with youthful enthusiasm, they have to put up a very good pretence thatt they do. A good school cannot be staffed only by sedate, respectable, middle-aged gentlemen; it must always have a leavening of unconventional and rather eccentric impetuosity; even one or two masters that many people think slightly mad!

But this whole problem that I am discussing is one that the home must help to solve even more than the school and staff; and I think thatt the critics of 'soft' schools whom I mentioned a few pages ago would do well to fire at least half their criticisms at 'soft' homes; some of them, to my knowledge, softer than jellyfish.

This question, to express it bluntly, of the importance of making boys sweat is another one of those educational questions to which there is no answer, unless home and school speak with one voice. Nothing effective can be done by a school thatt tells its boys to run risks and face difficulties, if their parents are impressing on them the importance of 'safety first' and 'peace in our time'. If the College decides to include in its annual programme activities of the sort that I have outlined for the sake mainly of their beneficial effect on boys' characters and out-looks, it will be an essential step to keep their parents informed as to what is being done and why, and to make big efforts to win their approval and co-operation. When boys returning from their vacations begin to tell stories of how they did their shooting only on foot; of how they sailed a boat down the Mahanadi to Cuttack; of how they worked their passages on a coasting steamer from Calcutta to Bombay; of how they walked 200 miles in the Himalayas and camped alongside the snow; only when stories like those begin to be told, will the time for persuasion, explanation, and experimentation be over; then the College can go into full production knowing thatt its parents are behind it.

It is almost needless to add thatt, as in other fields of research, the College should keep in very close touch with other schools making experiments with the same object in view, so thatt all results and experiences can be shared.

I should not like to be misunderstood over this question of educational experiments and to make anyone think thatt I am trying to dictate thatt these particular experiments, rather than any others, must be conducted by the College. I am concerned only to make the point thatt there ought to be some experimentation, and thatt the College ought not to be content with a curriculum indistinguishable from that of hundreds of other schools. I have gone into some details of walking tours and open-air sessions only to illustrate what I mean by educational research or experiment. I felt thatt, if I did not do so, some readers might not easily form a picture in their minds of what I was suggesting. But I should like to close this subject by emphasizing thatt, so long as the experiment being conducted promises to make a new and valuable contribution to the content of education, it may be all the better for being very different from ones that have been suggested in this chapter.

I end this chapter with a building programme that has been kept separate from the programme which the effort to expand will necessitate, because the latter ought in my opinion to be financed by the College, whereas the one I am about to advocate will have to be financed by donations. These buildings that I hope to see built in the next decade, will not be built, like Stow Hall and Dining Hall, with the direct object of increasing accommodation and fee-income. Though for that reason it may not be thought legitimate to pay for them out of College funds, they are in my opinion none-the-less essential additions, because they will certainly assist in raising the standard of education and indirectly ought to help expansion.

The College needs a worthy place in which to hold functions such as the annual prizegiving, dramatic performances, and concerts; it needs a Music School; and it needs a Museum. No present room will hold the prizegiving guests and so they have to sit in a marquee borrowed annually from a State. There is no room with a stage; and the present Main Hall, besides being stageless and too small, has very bad acoustics. It may be pointed out thatt the Stow Hall will provide a place for these functions; and it is true thatt, in an emergency (for instance, if the weather is wet), the Stow Hall will be a standby. But I think thatt it will be very desirable to regard the Stow Hall only as a standby and not as the normal venue for College functions. When the College entertains, it ought to be able to do so in a pleasing and dignified setting. The Stow Hall will be utilitarian, not decorative, according to my ideas; the main livingroom and workroom of most of the boys; to put it mildly, a Hall in which a good deal of ink has been spilt, not the sort of Hall of which distinguished visitors will carry away a charming memory. Moreover, the climate of Raipur for most of the

school-year is such thatt big gatherings of people not only can be safely entertained out of doors but are much more comfortably entertained there.

The need for a Music School and Museum is more obvious. Music is a popular and flourishing art in the College now, the musicians have no place of their own to practise in and they make life very irksome to those living near the rooms that they borrow at present for their lessons. A well arranged museum, with a large variety of exhibits, will very obviously arouse the intellectual curiosity of many boys and assist the teachers of many subjects. It is as necessary for a school to have a good museum as a good library.

I hope thatt benefactors will come forward to finance the construction of one large block consisting of a dignified entrance Hall, with a museum leading off on one side, a music school on the other, and an open-air stage and auditorium placed behind the Entrance Hall. The Committee has already permitted an architect to express this plan on paper. He estimates the cost at present at about Rs. 1,20,000. Of this sum the Raja Sahib of Korea State has already given Rs. 10,000 towards the cost of the museum, the Raja Sahib of Raigarh State a similar sum towards that of the music school. If College funds were used to build Stow Hall, the money in the Golden Jubilee Fund could be put into this project.

The architect's drawings show thatt the word 'dignified' used in the last paragraph was used with intention. I think thatt it is of great importance thatt at least one important building in a good school should possess artistic merit and be something that one feels the better for seeing, whatever its use may be. The existing College buildings, except perhaps the Temple, are not ugly, and they are useful and sensibly designed; but the most fervent admirer of the College could not honestly call any of them beautiful. At least one impressive building is needed for a very sound educational reason. The environment of a boy at school has a big influence on his taste and emotions. Thatt beautiful buildings, gardens, and grounds, are very influential and valuable silent members of the staff, is not just a pretty metaphor, but an important educational truth. 'A thing of beauty is a joy for ever'. I think thatt the College greatly needs one 'thing of beauty' among its buildings, a Temple of Art devoted to the arts, a place where, in an attractive setting, acting, concerts, dancing performances, and musical recitals, can be held and the guests of the College on state occasions can be worthily received and entertained. I think also thatt the architect has shown most successfully how 'a joy forever' can be obtained on reasonable terms.

Lest I become too lyrical, I come rapidly back to earth and add thatt from a worldly point of view it is a good piece of window-dressing

for a school to have such a building as the architect has planned. It will make a favourable impression on the prospective parent; and, so long as there are the other much more important educational reasons for its existence, there is nothing for the College to be ashamed about, if it looks very well in the front window.

There is only one entirely suitable site for this building, the present Manipur tennis courts; but, fortunately, it is almost an ideal site, with the back of the auditorium bordered by fine peepul-trees, the two sides by other trees, with a pleasant view from the entrance looking down the gardens to the Central Lawn, and with the whole unit sufficiently near to the Main Building for the latter to give the right amount of shade to stage and auditorium every afternoon. An alternative site for the three tennis courts has already been reserved close to the Sonepur Pavilion.

My Epilogue is ended. It tells only what I should like done in the College during the next twenty-five years. May those who read it in 1970 smile to see how much less I hoped for than has actually been achieved!